

INSIDE: Broadway's holiday season in review

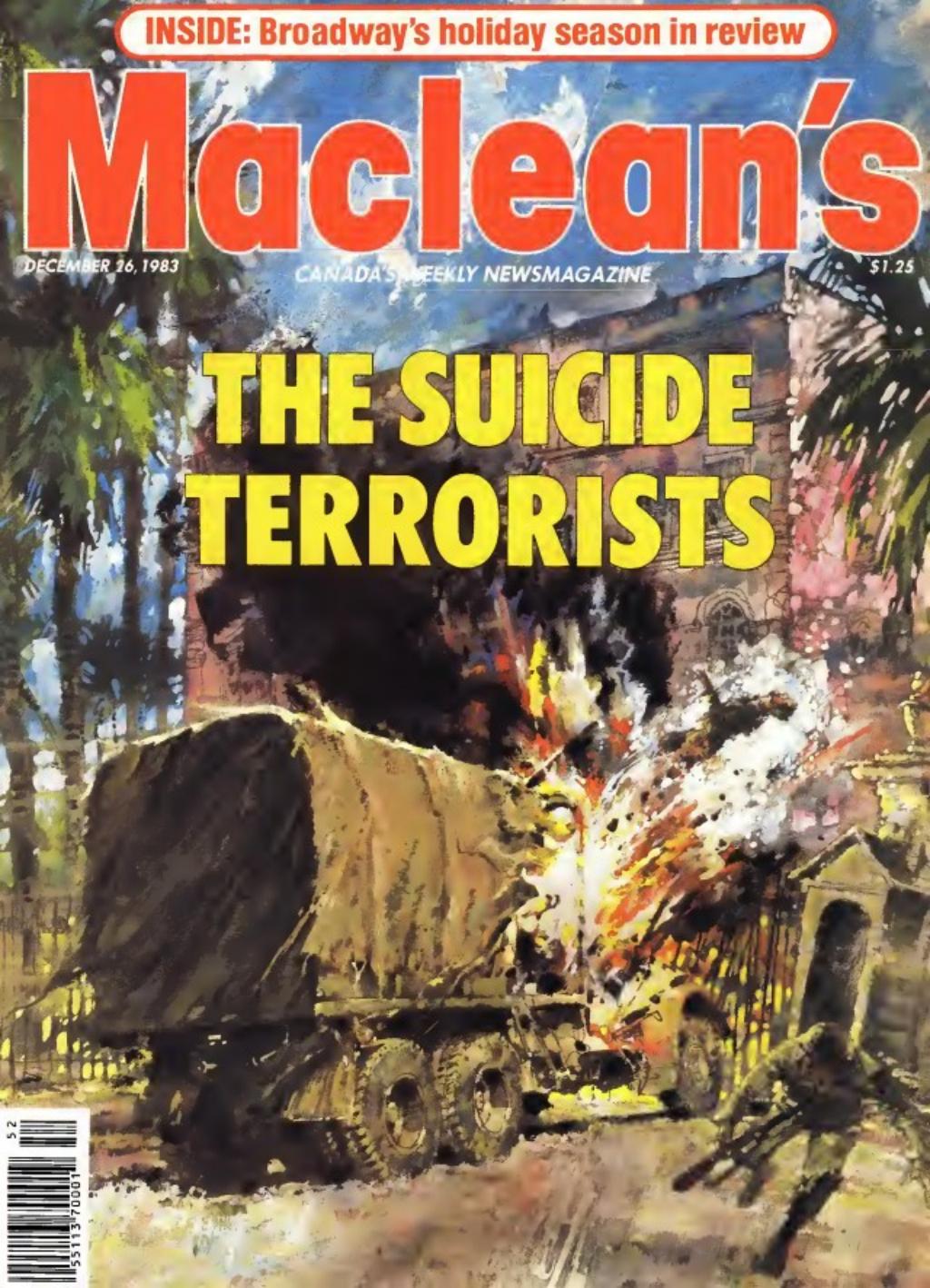
Maclean's

DECEMBER 26, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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THE SUICIDE TERRORISTS



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

DECEMBER 26, 1983 VOL. 90 NO. 52

COVER

The suicide terrorists

Kuwaiti-style terrorism has leapt from evicted Beirut to the Persian Gulf, sparking new concern that it might soon reach the Atlantic. While the episode raises last week's stakes through a jittery diplomatic community, worried Western governments are concentrating on assessing embassy security. —Page 20

Photo by AP Wirephoto



Assessing Trudeau's plan

Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau took his nation of peace to the White House, but the signs of goodwill that it professed were not achieved easily. —Page M



Workouts for toddlers

In gyms, and in books and records, fitness programs for infants have become the hottest new focus of the North American preoccupation with exercise. —Page 38

CONTENTS

Books	46
Business/Economy	38
Canada	8
Culture	6
Cover	20
Films	48
Fotheringham	48
Health	34
Living	38
Natural History	39
Newsmag	31
Passages	4
People	26
Press	37
Religion	36
Sports	32
Teams	41
World	14

An undiplomatic exit

Canal Ken Taylor is a hero in New York for his role in the rescue of six Americans from Iran four years ago. Now he is going, but he does not know where. —Page 8



Domesticity on Broadway

After last year's financial disaster, Broadway has chosen a safer bet this season, avoiding the risks of the nuclear bomb and exploring the nuclear family. —Page 41





The foreign infidels

The ever-more radicalized Moslem world is sending a clear and deadly signal to the West. The massive societies constructed on the basis of strict Islamic tenets cannot and will not accommodate Western values. As murderous suicide squads of fanatical Shi'ite Moslems attack U.S. and French installations in the Middle East, Western leaders can no longer ignore the long-term implications of that warning. The presence of foreign forces in Lebanon



Wright. "Where do we stand?"

"In all the states of the crescent have their own national interests to protect and defend," she said. "As long as they are not united, the West will have that they will concentrate on any one target, like the oil lines, is lessened. But the very presence of the foreign 'infidels' is just enough to bring them together in a concerted attack on Western interests."

"There is no question that the West continues to have obligations in the Middle East—particularly to defend Israel. But clearly the only course open to the West now is to withdraw from the area, have the Shi'ites work out their own national destinies and hope that their need for dollars will encourage them to let the oil flow on."

Karen Doyle

Maclean's, December 26, 1963.

Page 20

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A man in a white and red ski suit is captured in mid-air, performing a dynamic pose. He is wearing a white jacket with red accents on the shoulders and a red vest over a white shirt. His arms are raised, and he is holding ski poles. He is wearing red ski pants with white patterns and white ski boots. The background is a snowy landscape with falling snowflakes. In the bottom right corner, there is a small graphic of a cigarette pack and some cigarettes.



A Taste for Adventure

EXPORT A SATISFACTION

LETTERS

Valuing survival

It is most alarming to hear so many people now talking about the probability of a nuclear war before the year 2000—a short 16 years off. Trudeau's peace crusade, *Couer, Bea, Etc.*, M. the world powers continue on the present course of arms deployment and uncompromising negotiations, the unthinkable does indeed appear possible. One thing is certain: we shall not achieve world peace by discussing the inevitability of war. Partisan politics aside, Prime Minister Trudeau's peace initiative deserves the support of all who value survival. It is imperative for more of us to speak out, letting our political leaders know that the present situation is intolerable. We cannot sit back idly and allow the nuclear powers to bully each other into developing more numerous and efficient weapons for destroying our world.

—KRISTIN VALUER,
Toronto

A statement attributed to one of our politicians was that he hopes Prime Minister Trudeau's efforts will be unsuccessful but he is not going to hold his breath. It is not our breath that we should be holding but rather our innocence and sometimes impulsive tempers. We should all be doing all we can to assist one of the world's greatest statesmen, and a Canadian, to get an with the job. We have within our sights the opportunity to become known not as the cause that started but as the cause that harbors a warning to the world's humanity, which seems intent on relentlessly marching to the edge of a



Nuclear test: a warning to humanity

disaster over which can be clearly seen the devastation of a nuclear holocaust. Even to mention partisan politics in connection with this mission should be construed by caring people everywhere as blasphemous and unacceptable.

—LEN BELANGER,
Wilkford, Ont.

When the world leaders look at Prime Minister Trudeau's track record in uniting Canada and giving the inhabitants a "Just Society," how could they do anything but fall all over him? Many of the leaders who have been listening to his scheme are settling like many of his even back-benchers, waiting for him to leave the scene. They are too polite to tell him that his dismal efforts at uniting 25 million people in one nation are pre-requisite for building a larger society.

—CHARLES FRASER,
Kingston, N.Y.

The father of Canadian radio

It was Prime Minister Trudeau, I believe, who called Graham Spry "the father of broadcasting in Canada." Since that *The Globe and Mail* has supported that view in an editorial, and now Mr. McLean's has followed suit (*Passages*, Dec. 5). We need someone like Spry today to take the lead in protecting the principle of naturally owned broadcasting in Canada. But I cannot agree that he deserves the title of father of broadcasting. My father, Charles A. Bowman, editor of the *Quebec Citizen*, realized in the 1920s that the America would control broadcasting in Canada unless it were nationalized here. He enlisted Spry, Alan Phaneuf and Maurice Soutain to organize the Canadian Radio League, supporting his editorials

PASSAGES

OBITUARY: John Bright, 58, Canadian Football League Hall of Fame running back and Grey Cup record holder, of a massive heart attack during minor knee surgery, in Edmonton. Bright, who began his CFL career as a linebacker for the Calgary Stampeders in 1951, joined the Edmonton Eskimos in 1954 and helped earn the team three consecutive Grey Cups.

OBITUARY: Spencer Wood Caldwell, 78, the founder of CTI in 1953, of a broken neck during an automobile collision near Beloit, Wis. Caldwell, a self-made millionaire, electronics wizard and consummate stock market player, resigned as president of the network in 1965 to become a farmer in Caledon East, Ont.

BORN: Jean Giono, 79, with Pierre Grand Prix for literature, in Paris. Giono's best-known work outside of France is his play *The Solitude* (1937), which was made into a 1963 movie starring Peter Falk and Shelley Winters.

OBITUARY: Mary Renault, 75, the British author of numerous best-selling and critically acclaimed historical novels, including *The King Must Die* and *The Bull From the Sea*, of breast cancer, in Cape Town, South Africa. Mary Challan, completed her trilogy on Alexander the Great with the publication of her last novel, *Phoenician Games*, in 1982.

OBITUARY: Sir Neil Blundell, 66, the commander of the 8th British Army, which routed Axis forces in North Africa, during the Second World War, of pneumonia. Blundell, who was knighted in 1945, and in the 1950s became president of the Mercantile and General Remunerative Co. of Canada Ltd.

OBITUARY: Catherine Wheelock, 82, a slight Vancouver woman, of murdering her husband, Robert Milton Wheelock, 62, by a B.C. Supreme Court jury. The jury found that Wheelock acted in self-defence when she stabbed her husband with a kitchen knife after he lunged at her. Testimony revealed that Wheelock strangled his wife and three children to death and beatings for more than 30 years.

OBITUARY: Claire Lortie, 21, the lawyer acquitted in October of murdering her former lover, Renéé Bousquet, to two years in prison for obstructing justice. Lortie admitted that she put Bousquet's body into a freezer, which she buried. Lortie now faces charges of stabilizing a corpse and 15 counts of theft and forgery.

Then my father was appointed to the royal commission that recommended nationally owned broadcasting for Canada. If anyone deserves that title, it does.

—ROBERT POWELL,

Vancouver

An innocent's inestimable loss

The injustice done to Donald Marshall Jr. (*The cost of a bad verdict*, Justice, Dec. 5) is sad, but I am wondering at the new injustice that has been done. Ray Ellsberry was sentenced to five years while Marshall was found innocent after serving 11 years of his sentence. Does the fact that you are 71 mean that your sentence for the same crime should be less than if you are 37?

—KELVIN PUCKETT,

Toronto

In my opinion, it would be unconscionable if more than half of the Canadian judicial system did not attempt to help Donald Marshall Jr., who languished in prison for 11 years for a murder he did not commit. Admittedly, he can never get back those lost years. There is no compensation on earth for that.

—ELEANOR HUBBLE,

Ottawa

Mulroney and his promises

Please stop using the phrase "ethnic Canadians" (*Mulroney writes his fiction*, Canada, Dec. 5). It is redundant. Nonetheless, I guess I know what was meant when the article stated that Brian Mulroney "pledged fissures" did not feel compelled to go to ethnic Canadians. For those who want to think the word "ethnic" and hyperbolized descriptions of ourselves, attributable to national unity, I must say that I am an Anglo-Canadian. That makes me "ethnic" and it fits for fiscal aid and a top-level government job from Malaysia.

—JACK RENDELL,

Nepean, Ont.

Scientology's numbers

In the Dec. 12 issue a Follow-up article entitled *Scientology's legal woes* mentioned that the worldwide membership of the Church of Scientology is 300,000. The correct number of members across the world is seven million.

—NICOLE CHARLIE,

Church of Scientology,

Toronto

A sense of dismemberment

Prof. Frank Zingone and Eric McLellan should rethink their theory regarding the problems associated with epilepsy (1979) and its heirs, *Health*, Nov. 21). Zingone and McLellan attribute the prevalence arising from the use of VDTs to the fact that the video screen stimulates the right side of the brain while the language appeals to the left side. It

would seem to me that if this were true, we would all experience a sense of dismemberment after reading *Maclean's* magazine or any other printed material for the same reasons. —EDWARD FRENCH, Vancouver

The quality of life

Barbara Amiel, in her Nov. 21 column, *Freedom of choice is criminal*, suggests that by allowing abortion we are eradicating our morals and ignoring the quality of life. When "quality of life" is Amiel referring to? Downgrading abortion improves the quality of an unwanted child's life? Does it improve the quality of a lifeless

peasant mother's life? Abortion is not right. It is not moral. But it is not abortion that is causing the disintegration of the quality of life. Aborting abortion will improve the quality of life only if we are prepared to support the unwanted children and unfortunate parents of unwanted pregnancies with love and practical care.

—SEBASTIAN KIRKIN,

Regina

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number, and a copy of the letter to the Editor, *Maclean's magazine*, Maclean-McGill Bldg., 377 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.



New Year's Eve

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Of politicians who bear gifts

By Diane Cohen

It is never too late to do good," the commented Secretary of State, Serge Joyal, in his party's package of so-called Christmas gifts presented in the Dec. 8 speech from the throne. The speech offered no clues about how the Liberal government would actually do good, but it provided more than enough good intentions to prove the way is a hundred hills.

The promises, of course, were legumes. Among them: government help to own a home; to lease a trade; to open a business; to preserve medicine; to improve pension. Help for the autostrake crew. For Third World countries. For exporters. Automobiles. Shipbuilders. Clothing manufacturers. Farmers, foresters, miners, farmers, workers, both full and part-time. Help for transit operators, restaurateurs and, of course, the railways.

Within two weeks of the opening of the second session of the 23rd Parliament, many of the promises had begun to appear haltingly. The \$1 billion of "new and reallocated" funds that the minister of state for youth has to come up for Youth Opportunity Fund to create jobs for young people turned out, after days of being publicly ridiculed, to be \$18 million already announced and \$260 million of new funds. Finally, all indications are that there are no new funds at all, since the spending total is identical to that announced by Finance Minister Marc Lalonde in his budget last April.

The much-vaunted \$200 million of "new" money to be transferred to the provinces to help them do away with medical user fees and doctors' "over billing" turns out, upon examination, to be money Ottawa is legally obliged to transfer. The new Canadian rail pass to encourage tourists and travel within Canada shifted the tourist industry, yet recent rail policy has for the most part been directed at reducing the number of passenger rail cars, not increasing them.

Perhaps the festive season and the state of the economy lead themselves not so much to Christmas gifts from Ottawa as to resolutions for the new year. Here are seven issues for consideration:

Credibility is public. The federal government's overriding responsibility to Canadians is to provide an environment in which people can work toward both their own goals and those of society. In economic terms that means setting out

the goals reasonably and indicating what, in the government's opinion, constitutes the best possible contribution individuals can make to achieve the goals. The overriding responsibility of the federal government is not to stay in power regardless of the social and economic cost to the country, as the Liberals in Ottawa seem to interpret their mandate. The confusion of where responsibility lies has led the present government to such futile exercises as the Gleason speech, for which an editorial in *The Globe and Mail* on Dec. 8 offered one of the "toughest evaluations": "These speeches were very less substantial, they would rise the gas and distract us from delivery."

The powers of Canada's senior citizens

The history of social assistance to older, retired Canadians is an abysmal record of legalized poverty. Canadians are led to believe that the continuation of public pension plans, sick-care security

The Liberals in Ottawa seem to think that the government's overriding responsibility is to stay in power¹

and the Guaranteed Income Supplement are other generous or all that we can afford. Neither is true. The 700,000 Canadians who receive the G.I.S. live below the poverty line simply because our government chooses that option. The income of seniors is legislated income. Majority governments can legislate whatever incomes they choose. They certainly do when it comes to determining either their own incomes or those of their (well) servants. As for being able to afford it, it remains a matter of what kind of society we are now, or what kind we want to become. An extra \$1,000 a year for each senior citizen would go a long way toward putting all pensioners' incomes above the poverty line. Total, less than three-quarters of a billion dollars. Incredibly, the Trudeau government pride itself on having delivered a \$35 increase in 1980.

Women in Canada. Michele Landsberg went beyond this platitude in her extraordinarily thoughtful book about Canadian women, *Women and Children First: White Leadership*. "What we have here in Canada today is a spectacular, massive affirmative action program, a

program of privilege for one sex only. Special encouragement, education, support, extra pay, opportunity, training and promotion—all awarded on the basis of sex. Male sex." Canada has an official (female) affirmative action program and officially argues for equal pay for work of equal value. Yet the average Canadian woman earns only 90 cents for every \$1 that a man earns. According to a 1980 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development survey of 19 countries, Canada ranked 19th in male-female wage disparities.

Public spending of private money

Despite the auditor general report to the country on how effectively the government has spent taxpayer money, every December, for at least two days, the media have a field day with the barrier services. Among the list this year are the Rovera House in Truro, N.S., built with a \$100,000 federal loan guarantee, succeeded in bankruptcy in 1980 for \$500, and the \$100 million paid out to the railways to cover losses for the 15 years after 1974 before the Nov. 15 passing of the Government legislation. Both those and myriad other anomalies reflect an ignorance of sensible money management techniques and an attitude of apathy toward other people's money—yours and mine. The Prime Minister's comment on the auditor general in even more telling: "We are perfectible, he is paid to find fault." Such a chauvinist minimizes the seriousness of the report's criticisms. It suggests that the waste of several billion dollars each year is not very important. It suggests that the auditor general keeps his books in a more technologically about which growing amounts will forever argue.

The Prime Minister's comments could not be further off the mark. Not only is the government wasting billions of dollars, but decisions that affect the budget deficit, unemployment, inflation, old-age pensions and wages are made by politicians who do not have sufficient financial information to make economic decisions. Until such and every one of us—public and private citizens alike—resolves to change our attitudes and approaches, no year will see as marked strides toward the enormous potential that we have. And none of the secretary of state's platitudes will ever come to pass.

Diane Cohen is a Montreal-based environmentalist.



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The auditor's latest lament

By Carol Gear

The individual parts all appear to work well, but the machine uniformly refuses to run smoothly. That parable of life in the federal government has proved to be Ottawa's most enduring pebble for Kenneth Dye, the country's eighth auditor general. Since the Vancouver accountant moved to Ottawa three years ago as Parliament's financial watchdog, he has cast hundreds of bright, dedicated public servants. But every year his balance sheet—and his own eyes—tell him that management and morale problems are impeding the federal bureaucracy. "I just could not stop asking the question, 'Why, with all this talent, do we keep falling short of our potential?'" he told Maclean's last week. The conclusion, reached in Dye's annual report, is staggering: the federal government does not have the political will to cut the cost of its \$98-billion operation.

Dye's report, containing the familiar lit of waste and mismanagement, but it went one step farther: the auditor general tried to solve the mystery of why repeated efforts to streamline the government had all failed. That attempt failed. But in the process, Dye asked two Harvard public administration graduates on his staff to tackle the question. Their 34-page study, buried in the 681-page report, provides few definitive answers, but it "posts the way." Dye proudly contends "It was probably the most thorough study that has ever been done," said Richard Pason, one of its authors.

Pason and his colleague, Otto Brodrick, reached two main conclusions. First, it is impossible to apply management practices designed for private companies to the public service because bureaucrats cannot break free of the political pressures and conflicting priorities involved in running a government. Secondly, taxpayers will only get their money's worth from the federal public service when the government of-

the day makes it clear that efficiency and management not only count but matter. And, declared Dye, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau must deliver that message. "It has to start right at the top," he said.

But there was little audience but Pason and Brodrick discovered that governments everywhere are faced with built-in obstacles to productivity.

The most serious problem is that bureaucrats are constantly under political pressure. No matter how skilled a manager is, or how long he continues to do a worthy, the author concluded, "Good government is not necessarily good management." The report adds that the reality of government is that good managers get little reward because politicians strive to give elected and to stay in power.

Those unhappy facts of bureaucratic life, the authors say, are the reason that countless campaigns to improve the productivity of the public service by importing star managers from the corporate world have failed. They also contend that their study provides a warning for any tough-minded new political leader eager to slash millions of dollars from the budget by improving the culture of the workplace in Ottawa. "There are no magical solutions and no villains," declared Brodrick.

Still, their study offers several recommendations. It calls on the government to encourage, rather than penalize, an employee who works quickly and efficiently, and it suggests incentives ranging from extra pension credits to offices with windows. It also recommends that the government relax some of its procedures and regulations so that innovative managers have a chance to perform well. Finally, Dye urged the public to abandon the stereotype of all public servants as isolated, wasteful paper pushers. "I constantly meet public servants at all levels who are clearly intelligent, hard-working and imaginative," he said. And the government's challenge is to get them to work together to give Canadians the service they deserve. □

Auditor Dye: 'why do we keep falling short?'

decided, be acknowledged, under open-line questioning in the Commons, that he had not read the auditor general's report. Then he added: "The auditor general is, as he should be, a perfectionist. It is always his job to expose and find further faults." In spite of that retort, the 47-year-old accountant is determined to continue calling attention to waste in government. "The thing

that I think is really exciting is the opportunity for the government to get serious about having a productive public service," said Dye.

This year's study clearly spells out the limits to efficiency in the public service. Pason and Brodrick discovered that governments everywhere are faced with built-in obstacles to productivity.

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Wayne Gretzky, Andy Warhol and Taylor in New York last week: no word on the next goal

Taylor's undiplomatic exit

By Jane O'Hara

Kenneth Taylor has played the role of hero on what is perhaps the most dramatic stage—New York City. As the Canadian ambassador, and Manhattan's newest and friendliest, he turned heads and raised his bar for his part in helping six Americans escape from Tehran during the Iranian hostage affair. But now the heady times are about to end for the 64-year-old Taylor, a man recognized in the celebrity-filled nightspots of New York. In his office, on the 16th floor of the Exxon Building, many of the mementos—such as pictures of him with everyone from Ronald Reagan to Captain Kangaroo—recalling the Iranian escape have been put away. It is a sign that Taylor is seen as one of America's favorite Canadians, drawing in a close more quickly—and unceremoniously—than he wishes.

On Feb. 1, Taylor and his wife, Pat, will move from their spacious apartment on Park Avenue—a full year before Taylor expected or wanted to leave. They are leaving because Ottawa's old shuffle has left both Taylor and his wife angry and uncertain about the future. For his part, Pat Taylor is a cardiologist, working as a visiting consultant on treatment for AIDS at the New York Blood Center, and she has commitments

past the Feb. 1 deadline. Moreover, although External Affairs internally referred Taylor the ambassadorship, in June, the proposal has yet to be made official. Said Taylor last week: "I will be perfectly satisfied. We have no idea where we are going to go again and we have no confirmation of our next posting from the department."

Taylor's dissatisfaction, however, could benefit either the Progressive Conservatives or the Liberals. In recent weeks both parties have sought him as a candidate in the next federal election. Party insiders say that both have offered him salaried positions, hinting at a post such as minister of state (international trade).

The Liberals were first off the mark. They sent their heavy-hitting backroom strategist, Keith Davis, to a luncheon in New York in October in an effort to convince Taylor to run for them—if for other reasons than to formalize the embarrassment of having the country's most famous diplomatic campaigner associate with the Liberals. Said one party official: "It would be like Lester Pearson again." For his part, Pat Taylor is a cardiologist, working as a visiting consultant on treatment for AIDS at the New York Blood Center, and she has commitments

she still has. She has disclosed little about his private plans. Of the possibility of jumping from diplomacy to politics, he said: "It is a sensible, logical assumption. If I attempted to enter political office, it would be logical to assume that I would run in an Alberta riding." Considering the state of the Liberal party in Alberta, that would seem to indicate a preference for the Tories.

While Taylor is juggling several alternatives, he will have to decide quickly. His replacement, Robert Johnston, the former deputy minister of international trade, is eager to take up his new post. Johnston will move to New York to make way for Sylvie Ostry, the former chief economist of the Bank of Canada. Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development head of Prince Edward Island, Peter Kelly, will replace Taylor in October if it is decided. He said, "That is a government decision and something that as a member of the public service you come with." Several of Taylor's friends say, however, that he is hurt and angry about Ottawa's handling of his case. As well, he is reluctant to leave New York, one of the most prestigious consular postings in the foreign service and perhaps the most important business city in the world to Canada.

Carey, Taylor's predecessor as the president of New York, made visible in a way no other diplomat could. Blessed with an easy disposition and large reserves of stamina, he accomplished that partly in legendary forums through the city's nightspots. Typically, Taylor would go to the St. Club, Bearcat's discotheque, Shag's restaurant and the Brasserie, often calling on the Prime Minister, the Queen Mother and the Princess Royal during his year-and-a-half tenure.

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With Mary Jensen in Ottawa, Nicky Holt in New York and Sykes Christopher in Edmonton.



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Francesca de' Ponzano used money-puzzles old debts and stringing up the house and's

**Double vision
on the drilling**

The pattern was familiar, and the stakes were high. Last week Ottawa and St. John's opened another round in a festering dispute. But the outcome of the debate may affect the safety of 1,000 offshore drilling rig workers. The battle between the two governments centres on the regulations regarding winter drilling, in the treacherous North Atlantic, 200 nautical miles from land, where five rigs are looking at sea. On the surface the issue is simple. Newfoundland Energy Minister Dennis Marshall announced late last month that, under the Canadian Armed Forces' search-and-rescue obligation, the St. John's port would not begin drilling by Jan. 15. That move, urged by just one week Ottawa's announcement that it was ending talks on winter drilling with the province and rectoring its own rules. For the workers offshore, whose dialysis for high temperatures is clear, the gamble is a testing concern in their life of 12-hour days. But to the families ashore, many still mourning the 84 who died on the *Esso Ranger* less than two years ago, St. John's has a direct reference.

appointments may continue. There are now 25 vacancies in the Senate, a situation that Bid predicted would quickly be remedied. "There will probably be more appointed soon," he said, within hours of his own promotion. The Governor-General's term also expires next month, and Trudeau may want to personally select Edward Schreyer's successor.

In Taiwan, Tradeas spent practically his entire half-hour defending past accomplishments, ranging from extending diplomatic recognition to the Vatican to abolishing capital punishment. At the same time, he barely mentioned the government's agenda for the future. Det. 1 three speech.

In association with the government, he also received \$160,000 to help him move to Ottawa, where he became a key figure in the federal Liberal party and was granted another \$160,000 when he became national headquarters in Ottawa.

[View all reviews](#)

The Canadian Oil and Gas Lands Administration, also apply off Nova Scotia, where six rigs are at work. They were washed up by federal experts in consultation with the oil companies, and for the most part embrace current industry practice. The companies presented the first suggestion in emergencies, and the government accepted it. The sections of joint response teams across the country did not set the types of standby vessels and helicopters to be used and formations to be adopted during emergencies. Negotiations on the guidelines had gone on three months when Ottawa announced them. A spokesman for Chretien said the talks did not break off but simply stalled. Marshall, however, denied that he was "shocked."

The Fordord government's demand at search and rescue capabilities be upgraded in Newfoundland is the latest request from the province. Even more drilling rigs appear of late. Newfoundland had argued that it was short-handed in the search and rescue trend. Marshall said an incident last year in which the search and rescue helicopter took 46 hours to reach a rig after a distress call forced the Labrador fleet to St. John's, Gander, Nfld., Goosevoid, Pt. L'Isle, and from the Gaspé Peninsula. The last helicopter arrived in time to save lives after the oil spill. Three Labrador search and rescue helicopters are based in Gander, two hours farther west than those based in St. John's.

To improve response time, the oil companies agreed to establish a fully equipped heliport in St. John's which will be standing for oil emergencies. Marshall, citing the findings of several government and oil industry reports, says that that is not enough. A Newfoundland government wants such heliports built in St. John's by Oct. 15. He will not be asked. But Marshall admitted that he may not have the power to enforce his order.

That was certainly the view in Ottawa last week. "Marshall is playing politics," Edward Goldklang, spokesman for the federal energy ministry, said. "We stoch and rescue system is dead, and we stand by our government—and so will the oil industry." Goldklang added that federal law states that Ottawa has jurisdiction over the lake and that the Newfoundland government cannot enforce a ban on logging.

for the offshore workers, they remain in the middle of a dispute that may affect not only their jobs but their lives. Said Celia Newhook, director of the San Joaquin Families Foundation: "The politicians are jeopardizing lives here, and it is unforgivable."

200-28 Woodroffe Street, St. John's, Newfoundland

ghting to the last judge

er Ottawa and Regina, the dispute began as a relatively minor irritant, but it has now blown into a full-scale constitutional confrontation. When the Progressive Conservatives took power in Saskatchewan in 1982, the government began acting against Ottawa's right to approve



consultation sur les réseaux partagés

making any more superior court by abolishing all associations with the federal government to control the provinces. Lane has the constitutional power to use the use of such provincial court, by limiting their size he also tries to allow a large backlog of cases to build up. Declared Senator Robert McMurtry, president of Canadian Bar Association. "What Lane is doing is reducing the size of court, and with an expanding population, increased litigation and the implementation of the Federal Charter of Rights Freedoms, there is a greater work for the courts. As a result, the system suffers."

Ottawa-Region dispute is filed primarily at appeal levels to the Ontario Court of Appeal, which hears both civil and criminal cases, and the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal. It began on May 18, 1982, three days after the Tories had defeated the *sixty* government. These became responsible for the administration of justice in the province. The two had appealed the number of specific court positions from five to ten in 1981, but by last spring the two openings still had not been filled — charged that the federal government was about to fill the positions, and promptly abolished them. As well, he has appealed the constitutionality of the legislation that gave him the authority to change the law of incorporation that governed the *sixty*. He named that as Ray Beaumier, who was general attorney, learned about the appointment of a new chief justice of the Court speedily from a radio news broadcast. "I have kept hope for the past year and a half that there would be some discussion, but it just has not happened," he said.

The latest incident is the long-running fight begun when Judge Ray MacNeil retired from the Court of Appeals last month. MacNeil named his Court Judge William Vassar to his place, and he appointed Reginald Ian McLeish to fill Vassar's. "That all happened without censure, and I have heard that the Liberal party has been encouraging judges to appointment [into seniority] so that they can plug the bench for the next provincial election," deane Lane.

On his part, MacGuigan denied the charges. But he acknowledged that he had not assault Loring on the intent to do so. "He has made it impossible to prosecute him," declared MacGuigan. "If the proposed candidate did not meet with my approval, then apparently he would eliminate the position." At the same time, MacGuigan defended the

current system of selecting judges, insisting that it does, in fact, provide for constitutionality. He said that Ottawa only approves lawyers who the Canadian Bar Association considers to be qualified to serve on the bench. Added MacGillis: "Beyond the GSC, we consult widely with members of the provincial bar, provincial attorneys general and we also get lots of unsolicited advice from the public."

But that process is clearly inadequate in the view of the Saskatchewan government. On Nov. 11, the provincial cabinet passed an order-in-council demanding that when places on the two superior courts become vacant because of retirement, the province will simply steal the positions. The order dismayed both the President McIverher and members of the Law Society of Saskatchewan. The society oversees lawyer's activities in the province and it has been pleading for more courts in Saskatchewan for the past two years.

"Frankly, we are disappointed that our resolution...hasn't gone through the court endorsed," said Michael Tait, one of the 35 members who direct the affairs of the law society. And his concern is reflected in the province's crowded court dockets. The five-member Court of Appeal, for one, has 613 cases waiting for which hearing dates have not even been set, compared to a backlog of 482 cases at the beginning of the year. And the Court of Queen's Bench has fixed its calendar until next spring.

Still, neither minister has given any indication of being willing to compromise. Declared MacGillis: "The ball is in Mr. Lane's court." For his part, Lane says that he is determined to expand an application that has existed for years: "I want this resolved," he said. "I do not deny the federal minister's right to support provincial court judges, but, certainly, the lack of responsibility that there has been to date is unacceptable. There has to be consequences." Neither MacGillis nor Lane has acknowledged the role that politics plays in a dispute between a federal Liberal and a provincial Tory. Lane himself was once a Liberal, serving as an executive assistant to the provincial attorney general from 1968 to 1971 in Ross Thatcher's Liberal administration. Thatcher's government also experienced poor relations with Ottawa, because the federal wing of the party bypassed many Saskatchewan Liberals during national election campaigns. As a result, Lane became a Tory in 1976 after serving as a Liberal M.P. for five years. Lane has never been comfortable with federal Liberals. Because of this bitterness, the legal dispute will almost certainly continue well into 1984.

—DALE EASTON
in Regina



Mourners at Nasco's funeral. The casket of a don's son raised fears of a gang war

Another funeral in the Family

Undercover police took pictures of the massacre. Nasco's family travelled in while broadsides, and another three cars were needed to carry the final tribute. At the same time, about 400 people occupied the 160-car procession to the cemetery. The occasion was Toronto's second Mafia funeral in a month and it took place amid rising fears of a gang war in western Ontario. Last week's victim was Donato Racco, the son of an old-style Mafia don. His body was found 40 km from Toronto near an abandoned railway spur. The had been shot twice in the chest and once in the head. Last month police recovered the bullet-ridden body of another Donatore, 21-year-old John Valente, who had died in the truck of his wife's new at Toronto International Airport. Valente, who lived in a semi-recluse on his heavily guarded estate north of Toronto, was involved in everything from trade unions to narcotics and extortion. Although police discounted suggestions that there was a link between the two murders, the outcry over underworld violence was swift.

Present New Democratic Party Leader Robert Rae called for a royal commission into organized crime, and Ontario Liberal House Leader Robert Nasco warned that gangland violence is "a runaway situation." Ontario Attorney General Ray McMerty admitted that the possibility of further violence is "very real" but he said that law enforcement agencies are "doing very well" in fighting back. He argued

that previous inquiries have made progress in this regard.

Police say that the two killings are unconnected and that they expect to make arrests in the Racco case. The hit-headed Racco, police speculate, was murdered because he had "洩露" an underworld trafficking operation. Nasco's father, Michele, who died four years ago of natural causes, headed a Toronto Mafia family which emigrated to Canada from the Sicilian region of Southern Italy in the 1880s. Although Michele Nasco was a respected Mafia don—he funeral procession stretched three kilometers, making it one of Toronto's largest ever—police described him as a "corporate" don. In 1976, he was released from prison after serving 18 years for his role in the attempted murder of three youths in Toronto. He was also sentenced to stand trial next year as a drug cheat.

In 1975 the Metrop. Toronto Police intelligence squad named Nasco as a man "being groomed to become a major Mafia leader." But the police said that his fastidious, bachelor lifestyle and drug addiction scored well against on his leadership abilities. Said one Toronto police officer: "They did not consider Michele Nasco enough for leadership. He wanted broads, expensive drinks, coke and he hung around the coke crowd." Even in death he was in his father's shadow. Police said that the large turnout at the funeral was really a reflection of respect for Michele.

—LINDA DREZEN, in Toronto

Lévesque shuns the rule book

Rene Lévesque considers himself to be a political maverick, but the Quebec premier managed to score a recent win in Ottawa by intervening in Ottawa's internal financial conflicts. Lévesque's gifts occurred after he met Italian President Sandro Pertini on Dec. 9 and publicly announced that "Pertini did not have a very high opinion of the present [Canadian] federal government." While an informed Pertini seemed less than "falsely and pervertly interpreting" his statements, Lévesque insisted last week that he had simply reported the facts. That further enraged the Italian president, who then returned a present Lévesque had given him: a symbolic "passport" to next year's 40th anniversary celebrations of Jacques Cartier's first voyage up the St. Lawrence.

The affair started when Lévesque told reporters in Rome that the 80-year-old Pertini might visit Quebec next year and that he had no plans for going to Ottawa.

That decision turned pertin's speechless. Pertini, who has been critical of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau but did not see him while visiting Rome on his peace mission last month. Eventually, however, a cool Lévesque said that he regretted the incident and conceded that his remarks, while accurate, "had broken diplomatic rules."

In Quebec City the Parti Québécois tried to weather the criticism of its leader's actions with the Opposition Liberals, dubbing the premier Théophile page—roughly Blundering Balby—referring to Lévesque's diplomatic pratfalls in the past. In 1979, when Raymond Barre, who was then prime minister of France, visited Quebec, Lévesque tried, and failed, to get him to emulate Charles de Gaulle's 1967 "O Canada" Quebec observance. At a formal dinner for Barre on the occasion, Lévesque who appeared to be overdrinking himself, repeatedly giggled and slurred his words while making a speech.

The Liberals may have capitalized on Lévesque's mistakes, but the leader still embarrassed and saddened some of his political opponents. William Coats, a Liberal back-bencher from a Montreal-area riding who was born in Italy, is one of them. He expressed the view of many Quebecers who both a strong federal government and a highly visible international presence for Quebec. "It is good for us politically," declared Coats. "But I cannot help but feel sick when I see the leader of the province live in make a fool of himself in front of the leader of the country I care from!" —ANTHONY WILLIAMS-BROWN in Montreal



Premier René Lévesque, a 40-hour trace, but no accord on French language rights



Minister André Boisvert, in Winnipeg

Manitoba and the French fact

For almost 48 hours a trace settled over Manitoba's 113-year-long language wars and a settlement seemed in sight. Then Pertin introduced a draft bill that would give approximately 50,000 francophones the right to receive government services in their language in 30 municipalities where they form eight per cent of the population or a minimum of 800 people. Still, the government has not backed down on plans to extend bilingualism in the province's communities.

For his part, Asselin called the measure a "reasonable, workable and just solution to a 133-year-old problem" which said Manitobans could support. But the bill did not seem to sit well. They argued that extending bilingualism far beyond the Manitoba Act of 1870, which sanctioned French in the courts and legislature, had even though the new proposal specifically excludes municipalities and school boards. Pilon says that Clause 231 could result in legislation to include them.

Pilon's rejection surprised both the government and Leo Robert, the president of the Société Franco-Manitobaine. "We did not understand their position. In this new proposed arrangement of services is not there," he said. Robert, for his part, has greeted the government, an extension of his original Bill 31 deadline to Jan. 31 to resolve the matter. Until then, Manitobans may see the same kind of rancorous debate and bickering that dogged the previous legislature.

Balately acknowledging the prevail-

ing mood, the government softened its most contentious proposal, entrenching services. It has instead introduced a draft bill that would give approximately 50,000 francophones the right to receive government services in their language in 30 municipalities where they form eight per cent of the population or a minimum of 800 people. Still, the government has not backed down on plans to extend bilingualism in the province's communities.

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—ANDREW SHIPPERICK in Winnipeg

Assessing Trudeau's plan

With Christmas holly on the mantle and a fire crackling, a warm glow against the morning chill, the Oval Office seemed a fitting place for Ronald Reagan and Pierre Trudeau to discuss peace on Earth. And at the end of their White House hour together last week, there was little sign of the differences that have sharply divided the two leaders on arms control and East-West relations. In a six-minute fare-well statement to Trudeau, written by the state department beforehand, Reagan said, "We wish you [Concord] in your efforts to help build a durable peace." Trudeau, in turn, replied that he was grateful for the president's support. But the mutual goodwill, however genuine, was not echoed easily.

Trudeau's peace initiative has caused friction with Washington from the beginning. Indeed, one of Trudeau's aims during his 12-hour visit was to reassure Reagan that his efforts to re-size East-West relations do not endanger Washington's leadership. Still one Canadian diplomat, "We have to reassess them that we are not the ones causing trouble," told *Time*. Still, U.S. officials complained that the Canadian Embassy had applied "some heavy-handed pressure" to arrange the Trudeau-Reagan meeting. They also said Trudeau, and safety, hampered Washington's meeting with Moscow when he had Oct. 27 that decade-long talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions (MBFR) in Europe have been stymied by an obsession "with nuclear ascendancy." With 320,000 U.S. troops still in Europe, and one Washington diplomat, "We have a tremendous incentive to get more坐着." The current round of talks in Vienna ended last week, and the Soviet side refused to agree to a date for their resumption. The action was linked to the breakdown of U.S.-Soviet talks on Intermediate Nuclear Forces in Europe and an indefinite recess in the Strategic Arms Reductions Talks.

The most extreme and bizarre complaint against Trudeau in Washington emerged unattributed, from an off-the-record briefing with some US reporters. A senior state department official reportedly implied that Trudeau was an unstable leftist who has been flying around the world as if he were high on drugs. U.S. officials, the other hand, were still smirking last week from Trudeau's joke in Toronto—

erra, not just officials, to the European Security Conference in Stockholm starting on Jan. 17, 1981, as Trudeau left Washington the Soviets had not announced whether or not Warsaw Pact foreign ministers would also attend.

Trudeau and his officials insist that the Prime Minister will not act as an intermediary between the superpowers, and US officials confirm that Trudeau



Trudeau and Reagan at the White House, awaiting Moscow the night before the arms negotiations

is relegated in Washington—chart unannounced. Reagan, "pig-equals," would not hear him.

Despite those skirmishes, however, both sides presented congenial accounts of the Trudeau-Reagan meeting. Both officials and it ranged over the broad issues of relations with the Soviet Union and arms control, but Reagan did not endorse the specifics of the Trudeau proposals. A senior state department official said the two leaders discussed "what makes the Soviets tick." Reagan stressed Communist ideology. Trudeau, for his part, emphasized the feeling of insecurity that has historically fueled Moscow's foreign policy.

Trudeau is still trying to arrange a date for a Moscow visit, and Ottawa is watching to see how the Soviets respond to NATO's recent bid to re-open talks. NATO decided to dispatch foreign min-

isters to Geneva

will take no messages from Reagan to Soviet leader Yuri Andropov. Canadian diplomats do say, however, that Trudeau can now fly to Moscow with reassurance that Washington and NATO positively want to pursue the arms talks.

Meanwhile, Trudeau and his team of experts are assessing the initiative's impact so far. Among the successes NATO's decision to send Foreign Ministers to the Stockholm conference next month. Among the failure confounding that there is no chance of the five-nation conference in Vienna in 1984 that Trudeau had proposed for the nuclear weapons states. Having applied all the pressure he could muster over the past two months, Trudeau must now wait for the superpowers themselves to advance the arms control cause.

—JEROME HAY in Washington



U.S. marines arriving home from Grenada: the necessary end of a "foolish little war"

GRENADA

Unease about the U.S. pullout

Last week's withdrawal of U.S. troops from Grenada left the 11,000 islanders unsettled. Despite a gradual return to normal life eight weeks after the invasion, Grenada faces a multitude of problems. *Maclean's* correspondent Peter Chapman reports.

In the shade of the waterfront fire station at St. George's, a brawny band played a sample of its Christmas repertoire, a few bars of Jingle Bells and Rudolph the Red-Nosed Reindeer. In the tropical heat, with the temperature hovering around 30° C., Grenadians went about their daily business last week with mixed emotions, ranging from shock to euphoria. Eight weeks after the U.S. invasion, many citizens still have not come to terms with the murder of former prime minister Maurice Bishop, still much beloved, and the overthrow of the short-lived military council that succeeded him. Still, there is an overriding concern about the future. Said Fabianus Dunham Peters, who works at St. George's harbor: "Just want the Americans to stay. Everyone—even the small children in the street—are saying that."

The concern flew out of a wide variety of At the same time, a potentially deadly clash involving Guy Genes, Paul Stoen, and General Wesley Clark, the three top military leaders in the country, threatened to escalate a new political process. There are nagging doubts about aid from abroad, in particular how the complexities of Polar Sulfur

international airport, which islanders still consider vital to their tourism industry, will be financed. And the future of the investigations of the coup that toppled Bishop has yet to be decided.

Late last week's departure of the remaining 1,000 U.S. combat troops only aggravated those problems. Groups of soldiers, the last to leave, chanted "USA" as the C-14 transport plane departed from Fort Bragg, N.C., to fly the U.S. envoys back to the U.S. "We welcome a recent announcement by Bishop that he is returning to his role as governor general," that would end Stoen's "reign as Captain," and Bishop added, "The administration is a headache, incapable of carrying on an effective government." For their part, Grenadians close to the interim government complained that Bishop had been high-handed in his role as a legal adviser.

One man who might have provided less myopic leadership is Alister McIvor, deputy secretary general of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. McIvor was asked to head the administration's new council but declined because of illness. In his place, Sir Paul

Snow, personality clash



islands will remain divided. But the departure of the bulk of the U.S. force has necessarily brought Port-of-Spain's "two cities" to an end.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan has received \$15 million in economic aid, and senior members of the U.S. forces that will remain on the island will have a large say in how the money is spent. As well, Washington will retain a high diplomatic profile. Former ambassador Bruce refuted to assume the U.S. post to the eastern Caribbean. When Bush is given a U.S. official and his wife that Ambassador Charles Gilstrap, appointed after the invasion, will have a staff of 20 to 30 to look after U.S. interests on the island. As well, Washington has a powerful ally in Secon Romeo, Grenada's ruler temporarily as "Sir Paul Cliffe."

Snow's controversial role since the invasion started a setback after the Dec. 1 resignation of Anthony Baskerville, a British legal specialist who had served as attorney general to the island's interim administration. In a written statement only five weeks after taking up his post, Baskerville declared that the accusations of "treason" were "outrageous" and "unfounded." He followed a recent announcement by Bishop that he was returning to his role as governor general. That would end Snow's "reign as Captain," and Baskerville later added, "The administration is a headache, incapable of carrying on an effective government."

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show Grenadian teacher Nicholas Brathwaite, a former congressional Secretary to Congress employee. Gilligan says that despite Brathwaite's congressional status, the governor general will "privately share the house's [sic] with Beachwood."

The main task of the interim team is to prepare for elections next year. So far Grenada has four identifiable parties. But two of them, the conservative Grenada National Party and the centre-left Grenada Democratic Movement, have yet to evolve coherent policies and strategies. A third, the Grenada United Labour Party, was largely discredited before its eccentric right-wing leader was ousted in a 1979 coup by Bishop. Finally, there are doubts about whether Bishop's New Jewel Movement will be allowed to participate. In any case, many of its leaders are in the Bahamas still jail following the U.S. invasion.

The man who toppled Bishop, former defense prime minister Bernard Coard and military commander Gen. Hudson Austin, has another set of decisions about the changes that will face following Bishop's ouster. But while Grenadians are eager to turn him back to justice, the New Jewel Movement itself enjoys lingering popular support.

Another cause for concern is the fragile economy. The island's economy was stagnant before the invasion. World markets for Grenada's major export—cinnamon and cassia—are weak, and the International Monetary Fund suspended a \$16-million line of credit two weeks ago. Not only that, but the invasion delayed the start of the tourist season. The presence of U.S. troops helped compensate for that. But their departure is a blow to the restaurants along St. George's waterfront. The interim administration has announced that it wants to ban the Post Office services to prevent a probable cost of \$15 million. But U.S. officials say the Post Office in Washington had assured that Bishop might use it for military purposes—is not assured. Washington has said only that the financing will have to come from a variety of sources.

Meanwhile, the island is still "occupied." An eastern Caribbean security force, now largely composed of Jamaican troops and police, operates alongside the remaining Americans. U.S. military police, according to the interim administration, will continue to have power to arrest and interrogate persons "acting or likely to act in a manner adverse to the interests of public order or defense." And while ten detainees were released last week, Bishop's old jail still houses about 50 prisoners, mostly supporters of Austin's military council. Their presence is a grim reminder of a recent past which, still, is a considerable stain, continues to overshadow Grenada's future. □

ARGENTINA

The trials of old generals

I took President Raúl Alfonsín only three days to graphically demonstrate that military rule is Argentina again for the first time since 1976. The assassination from the Casa Rosada was succinct and to the point. Alfonsín's new administration had ordered courts martial for nine former military junta leaders on charges of permitting the torture, kidnapping and murder of as many as 30,000 people during the "dirty war" against the left in the 1970s. To speed the proceedings, Alfonsín immediately ordered a special committee of Congress to repeal an amnesty that the outgoing junta granted to the military for past illegal acts. Said Alfonsín: "The past looks with so heavy shadows over our future. Democracy must be defended."

The announcement was the first in a



Alfonsín (in center) at his inauguration, sweeping away half a century of domination

series of swift and sweeping moves designed to end more than half a century of political dominance by the armed forces. The new civilian president also introduced a new bill that will slash the military's budget by 60 per cent. Then he proposed measures to take responsibility for internal security away from the military and place it in the hands of civilians. Finally, he appointed a widely respected and apolitical pastor general, Adolfo Fernández Torres, deputy commander of the Buenos Aires garrison, as the new chief of staff. Other appointments of junior officers followed his early retirement of 28 of Argentina's 48

generals holding rank above them.

A similar tactic is one all air force appointments reflect: 16 admirals and three air brigadiers. Alfonsín's reforms sparked public anger from most political and labor leaders, who hailed him as a courageous attempt to jettison the military for past excesses. But some parliamentary deputies suggested that his plan do not go far enough. Augusto César, a Christian Democrat, declared that prosecution should be extended to those who carried out the junta's orders. Still, the critics are unlikely to get their way. Alfonsín cannot afford to alienate major elements in the armed forces. Indeed, diplomatic observers noted that last week's proposals were calculated mainly to retain the loyalty of junior officers, who are deeply resentful of the junta's mishandling of

shown from aircraft into the Rio de la Plata, near Buenos Aires, with their stomachs剖 open to prevent bodies from floating. For years Videla steadfastly denied that the army was playing any role in the disappearance of men he and his military forces within the military. But the resulting recent investigations by human rights organizations into the dirty war made Videla, a silvery light as a mastermind of terror. And Alfonsín's new national commission of investigation is expected to reveal even more incriminating evidence.

The Alfonsín administration also accused two other former presidents—Leopoldo Galtieri and Roberto Viola—of complicity. Viola, as Videla's immediate successor, is deeply implicated in the dirty war. Galtieri, who ordered the invasion of the Falklands, already faces charges of condoning that war. The other six accused are all high-ranking officers from the army, navy and air force. The ridefenders' fate undoubtedly will have been longer had they not been given amnesty. Alfonsín has already privately ruled a return to civil service impossible. On such a question, Gen. Ricardo García, the former head of the Buenos Aires provincial police force, was the instigator of jail and torured journalist Jacobo Timerman.

As Congress began consideration of Alfonsín's proposed military reforms, the new administration began tackling Argentina's other major crisis, the parlous state of the economy. After meetings with foreign bankers, Economy Minister Fernando Graspani announced that he will seek deferral of all repayments of the nation's crushing \$43-billion external debt until next July. Graspani said that the delay is necessary to enable the new government to work out a new repayment schedule. However, the negotiations will likely be difficult. A strenuous campaign of forces banks is expected to demand that Argentina stick to its March deadline for resuming repayment of a debt load that threatens to push the recession-plagued country into bankruptcy.

For the immediate future Argentines' attention will likely focus on the former junta leaders' trial, after Congress struck down the amnesty law in a parallel development. Alfonsín last week announced the imminent arraignment of seven leaders of the leftist guerrilla organizations, whose terrorist activities had helped create the climate of opinion that made the 1976 military coup possible. However, most attention focused on the new president's attempts to lift the shadow of past military repression and to lead a rejuvenated nation back into the sun.

—JAMES NELSON in Buenos Aires



Walesa and wife, Danuta, in Gdansk, a ringing call for a share of power

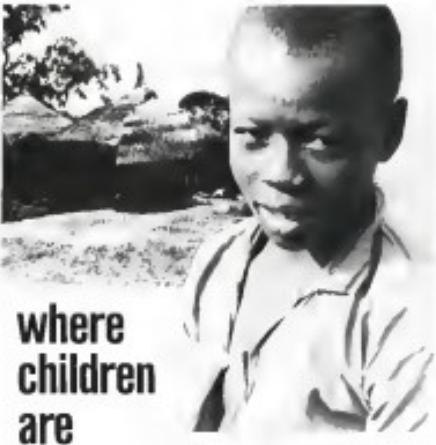
POLAND

Keeping the lid on Walesa

Each Walesa's Nobel euphoria was short-lived. As the former Solidarity union leader and his family returned last week from the shrine of the Black Madonna in the city of Gniewino, where Walesa had dedicated his peace medal—police stopped their car for inspection no fewer than 12 times. Later, in the city of Lida, police stopped the vehicle and its occupants to yet another search, this time under the car seats and rear luggage compartment. They copied the car's license plate and brought it back from Olsztyń, in Gdansk, the local prosecutor summoned Walesa to face questioning as an unregistered subject. But Walesa declined. His wife said that he had influenza.

Such harassment has taught Poles that they can further Solidarity's cause only by surreptitious means. The movement's underground leaders admit that the hopes such tactics engender must be long-term. Still, Poles remain attached to the ideal of independent trade unions. Before his arrival last week, newspaper Warsaw priest Rev. Jerry Paprocki offered his congregation resources from the pulpit during a service for Saint Barbara, the patron saint of miners. Saint Barbara, he said, watches over "all underground work." As Polish resistance enters a new phase, its organizers trust that work may yet undermine the iron-clad foundations of Poland's authoritarian regime.

—STEVE MASTERS in Warsaw



Facts About **FOSTER PARENTS PLAN**

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CENTRAL AMERICA

BRITAIN

A cold-blooded Yuletide attack

Thousands of Saturday shoppers thronged the streets of London's fashionable Knightsbridge, pre-occupied with post-Christmas errands. At Harrods, the landmark department store, the neurasthenic and upper-middle-class housewives in twin-sweater suits and tweeds leveraged the enormous ball and specialty shops. But outside the building a source, Miss Crescendo, palis, alerted by an anonymous telephone call, warily approached a parked Austin 1100 sedan. There was quickly pandemonium. Seconds later massive Arfball blew the car apart and rapped a jagged hole in the stone and made student Emma Lovell. There was the sound of people screaming. I went down to press my argued world the classmate Bryan.

By the time Lovell looked up, Hemingway had become a scene of carnage—survivors stumbled in search of shelter among the tiers of masonry, car wreckage and bodies. "People were running from the scenes, their faces covered in blood. There were children, old people, men and women," said another eyewitness, Justice MacPherson, a Scot. Five people died, including three policemen and one policeman. Lovell himself was among the 72 injured in the street or yards around Harrods.

Scotland Yard's antiterrorist branch learned the Irish Republican Army had been boasting. It was the third such

not within a week. On Dec. 14, a 28-lb bomb exploded at the Royal Artillery barracks in Woolwich, south of the river Thames. Three days later police safely detonated a 29-lb device placed under the doorway of an apartment block in the London borough of Kensington. The capital's 67 million inhabitants have not experienced such a bloody incident since the terror wave July, 1982, when bombs killed 16 soldiers and wounded 35 during a military pageant in London's park.

After the Harrods bombing, police issued appeals to the public to report suspicious-looking cars and unattended packages as London Transport began to use trolley buses instead of tube trains. They also checked British neighbourhoods and pubs in north-west London to try to trace the bombers. But in the past such investigations have proved lengthy and often fruitless. As condensers hurried about their final bomb preparation, there was the burning thought that the bombers would strike again in a different part of a sprawling city.

Plaza Dorrego - Buenos Aires



Anti-American fervor in Damascus last week; a vehicle in Kuwait after it discharged its murderous cargo, shockwaves



Kuwaiti time on Monday, Dec. 12, the fanatics' truck, owing off First Bros Bank, near the waterfront, and started down a side street leading to the main gate of the U.S. Embassy compound. For the driver and his frantic passenger/aceeiphe, the moment of glory was at hand.

COVER

THE SUICIDE TERRORISTS

By Robert Miller

Abey dump truck rumbled along the sunbaked street in Kuwait City, on its way to a令人震惊的 appointment with oblivion. It carried a deadly cargo of high explosives, a chilling message for the United States, and two fanatical young Muslims who had volunteered for a do-or-die mission. At 9:05 a.m. Kuwait time on Monday, Dec. 12, the fanatics' truck, owing off First Bros Bank, near the waterfront, and started down a side street leading to the main gate of the U.S. Embassy compound. For the driver and his frantic passenger/aceeiphe, the moment of glory was at hand.

With savage effectiveness, kamikaze-style terrorism just week made the 1,300-km leap from embattled Beirut to the Persian Gulf and sparked grisly

casts in Washington and elsewhere that it might soon vault the Atlantic. The terrorists' objective is nothing less than to help form the center of all Americans from the Middle East. Their inspiration: the fundamentalist Islamic revolution proclaimed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran and endorsed in the Arab world by the increasingly militant Shi'ite Muslim sect. Their motivation: a profound belief that to die for the Islamic cause means an admittance to heaven. Their method: a suicide attack, the latest weapons addition to Middle Eastern terrorism's bag of dirty tricks.

A military U.S. marine was on duty as the dump truck approached. Several Kuwaiti soldiers with automatic weapons stood guard in the shade of the three-meter-high concrete wall surrounding the embassy compound. Early 300 m away, in the Fifteen Hotel, foreign businesspeople were sipping cof-

fee or eating IB continental breakfast and placing their work week in the ashtray republic. It was a splendid desert morning—clear sky, dry air, a cooling breeze of the shimmering gulf. Everything appeared normal, routine, ordinary—except for the truck, which showed as it reached the embassy gate.

Explosion. The driver—identified later as Raed Murtadha Ageel, 25, an Iraqi fundamentalist sentenced to death in Baghdad for pro-Iranian activities—turned the steering wheel hard to the right and flared the accelerator. The heavy truck smashed through the gate. Neither the marine nor the Kuwaiti soldiers opened fire. In an instant, the truck swerved left and was out of their sight. It roared across the paved courtyard separating the main four-story embassy building from the smaller chancery just before it reached the far end of the courtyard, the faience



Islamic Amal terrorist in Jordan. "Taman Exxon missiles" can attack anywhere

decorated its cargo 300 kg of high-grade explosives and several containers of blast gas.

The ensuing blast leveled an entire, severely damaged the chancery and main building, blew out all the front windows in the Fifteen, crippled and blackened most trees in the area and killed six people. By a quirk of fate, the passenger in the dump truck was blown clear and survived. On the weekend, Kuwaiti government sources said that he was in a Kuwaiti hospital with serious injuries, under heavy guard and in the care of two Indian doctors. The driver, Ageel, was blown apart.

U.S. Embassy spokesman David Good offered a graphic report as the blindfolded Gees, who was in his chancery office typing out a cable. [There was] a tremendous, sharp, deafening bang and a kind of swelling pressure which went all around my body and throughout the room. Shattered glass came flying in through my window and hit the opposite wall. Fortunately, I was sitting just below the window, which was about 5 feet over my head, so I only had some glass and shrapnel and dust falling on me.

Minutes later, workers were sorting through heaps of rubble, looking for survivors and bodies.

The sick stench of death and gas hung heavily as the shock waves reverberated across the compound, throughout the Middle East and around the world. But the servants were not yet through for the day. In rapid order, bombs detonated by remote control exploded at the other Kuwaiti locations. Among the secondary targets were the French Embassy on Al-Majlis Street, a dozen blocks from the U.S. compound; the international airport, where an Egyptian aerobatic team was killed; and a U.S. residential compound 10 km from the city centre. In each case, terrorists had parked a car packed with explosives in the target area. Altogether, Kuwait's morning of terror cost seven lives and \$4 billion.

Holy War. Within hours, a shadowy group of fundamentalist Muslims who call themselves Islamic Jihad (Holy War) claimed responsibility for the attacks. The fanatics responded right away as the country would begin responding to suspects. Some U.S. officials in Washington said they believed, but could not prove, that the two suicide terrorists were trained, armed and assigned by Iran, with the knowledge and approval of Syria. Both Tehran and

Damascus denied the accusation. Still, U.S. President Ronald Reagan insisted: "You could not put into a court of law and say that Khomeini ordered this. But we do know [that there is] a Iranian connection."

The U.S. administration, which has been increasingly preoccupied with the Middle East since it dispatched marines and a major naval task force to try to keep the peace in Lebanon in September, 1982, reacted to the bombings by intensifying already elaborate security measures as an effort to protect the president, federal buildings and military establishments. A so-called "gray alert" was in effect across the country, meaning that federal agents were awaiting visitors to 7,000 government buildings. The administration put up special metre-high concrete walls at the White House, state department and other key locations to foil attacks by truck bombs. The earlier deployment of surface-to-air missiles, intended to counter a possible aerial attack on the White House, became public knowledge as official sources admitted.

Advantage. But despite those and other, unanticipated steps to guard against Midas-style invasions, most U.S. authorities conceded that there was no absolute protection against well-organized modern terrorists willing to die on a mission. Said FBI Director William Webster: "That is a quantum leap forward toward a greater destructive event, and one far more difficult to stop." For his part, Brian Jenkins, a senior RAND Corp. researcher on terrorism, referred to the new kamikazes as "human kinetic missiles," and he added: "We have to accept the fact that they have the advantage. They can attack anything, anywhere, anytime, and we cannot protect everything, everywhere, all the time."

Still, U.S. security forces were determined to protect at any cost the personal safety of the president, wherever his job took him. Less than 10 hours after the Kuwait bombings, Reagan was in New York to speak at a meeting of the Congressional Medal of Honor Society. He paid an emotional tribute to the 125 U.S. servicemen who had won their country's highest award for bravery. Then he declared, "Our days of weakness are over."

But security precautions outside the Sheraton Center Hotel in midtown Manhattan were as elaborate—a number of city streets blocked off, a double line of police cars all the way around the hotel's block, a hulking truckload of heavily armed secret service, 200 New York City police officers earning overtime pay to drive their private cars around the area to create a deliberate traffic jam—that to many observers the show of strength seemed to be



New White House crash barrier; Reagan in New York, a nationwide 'gray alert'

COVER

an admission of weakness

Indeed, some Americans were concerned that so many precautions by the world's leading power would be interpreted, at home and abroad, as an advance victory of sorts for terrorism and that a state of siege mentality in Washington would be a negative development. Said Representative Elliott Levitt, a Democrat from Georgia: "I think we need to err on the side of taking the risk and letting the public have access [to federal buildings]. We cannot let a handful of fanatics change our system of government."

One result of last Monday's attack on the embassy in Kuwait was almost certain to be a change in the system of diplomacy, not just for Americans but for representatives of most Western countries, including Canada (page 10). Increasingly, diplomats around the world will live and work out of heavily guarded facilities, largely because of the greater mobility of terrorists and the widely held belief that it is only a matter of time before they take their meanness and desperation act on a much longer road. This week, the United States was urgently intensifying a crash program of security improvements more than 200 embassies, consulates and missions in 20 countries.

But the improvements came too late for the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait. In September, embassy officials asked Washington for enhanced defense capacity. The state department considered the request, and a month ago a Central Intelligence Agency report cited Kuwait

as a probable target for a terrorist attack. Washington still delayed. Finally, just before the truck bomb exploded, approval of the September request was granted. Said state department spokesman John Hughes: "The authorization cubic car was overtaken by the incident."

Kuwait. The Kuwait truck bombing was almost a carbon copy of the Oct. 23 suicide attacks on U.S. marine and French military bases in Beirut, where 241 Americans and 59 Frenchmen were killed. The same, little-known group—Islamic Jihad—claimed responsibility for those savagery, as well as for a Nov. 4 strike against an Israeli military base at Tyre (at least 60 dead) and the April 16 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut (165 fatalities). But, despite its expressiveness—and deadly—suicidally

Shiites from Lebanon, Iraq and Syria are undergoing religious, military and political training at a special school established by Khoneish near the Iranian city of Qom. Washington is also concerned that the suicide terrorists are recruited from the Qom faculty.

British sources, on the other hand, question some of the U.S. assumption. One foreign office specialist in London told Macmillan's that Qom is a holy city where few guns are seen and senior fundamentalist religious leaders are trained not as terrorists but as missionaries. Still, the specialist conceded that "if a possible small group attending the main training base of the Revolutionary Guards at Qom (west of Tehran, where fresh troops are prepared to fight in the 20-month-old border war with Iraq) may be encouraged

to commit suicide acts of martyrdom by individual instructors."

The suicide terrorists of the Middle East are the latest manifestation of an ancient tradition dating back to the Crusades. Since the late 11th century, the Muslim world has produced fierce and determined religious radicals willing to undertake desperate acts in the name of Allah. Indeed, the English word assassin evolved from the Crusades, when drag-taking "assassins" frequently launched suicide attacks against the "infidel" invaders. The original Moslem assassins—the thinking blessed by hashish, practiced eternal paradise and encouraged by exotic sexual favors from specially trained women—undertook their assignments willingly and even eagerly, so strong was the lure of martyrdom. The current fundamentalist Moslem terrorists appear to be their natural successors. Since U.S. sources claimed last week that the ancient recruiting and training methods are glorified in the Middle East now, although at least one expert dismissed Col. Javad Alexander, director of the Institute for Terrorism Studies at New York University: "There are strong links between terrorism and drugs, but we do not know if the members of Islamic Jihad have the benefit of hashish and willing women." That is the kind of detail that has not yet come our way.

Bombing. Middle East experts say that Islamic Jihad is an amorphous concept rather than an umbrella organization for extremist fundamentalist Moslem groups. The history of Islamic terrorism is apportioned with endlessly named groups, none of them deadly serious (page 28) and others almost wholly imaginary. One such, the shrinking group of experts, including Col. Robert Elliot of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies, believe that the Islamic Jihad bombers in Beirut were probably splinter cells from the radical Shi'ite guerrilla move-



Pickup in bulletproof Papermache: 'a real headache for security forces'

Canada's security concerns

In the spring of 1980, after the heady Canadian rescue of American Embassy employees in Iran, Canada's diplomats made their debut on terrorist hit lists. Etched by Ambassador Kenneth Taylor's key role in arranging the American staffers out of Tehran, several groups sought revenge. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency learned that the Palestine Liberation Organization had targeted the Canadian ambassador to Sweden, Kenneth Drews, for assassination. Canadian and Swedish authorities quickly threw a security blanket over Drews. Although there is a backlog of orders for hit men worldwide, security experts obtained one from a Florida firm after persuading an American businessman to accept a delivery date. Eventually the threat receded. But the alert was a cold reminder that Canada, the most industrialized nation, is not immune to terrorist attacks.

That reminder haunts Canadian security advisers, who viewed last week's American bombing in Kuwait with apprehension. Events such as the 30-day stand-off of Pope John Paul II in Canada last September have become matters of serious concern for security forces. Canada's police forces are already on watch with European and U.S. forces, monitoring the movements of suspected terrorists—especially those with links to Soviet Bloc countries.

The fear that damaged or fanatical individuals may try to copy new terrorist techniques is a perception with

Canadian security experts who try to minimize the possibility by downplaying the likelihood that suicidal terrorists will strike in Canada. They argued that the phenomenon appears limited to a number of small fanatical groups operating largely out of the Middle East. "But anybody who is in the security business is concerned by this and monitoring it closely," declared David Clark, deputy director of the highly respected Centre for Conflict Studies at the University of New Brunswick. The Page's title will be a real headache for security forces since it like phlegm, is never short for vital attend the Victoria's Day 88.

Warning. After last week's Kuwait bombing, full security measures were in effect at Canadian embassies throughout the Middle East. Still, some experts say that it would take a major foreign policy reversal—such as the Progressive Conservative government's short-lived plan to move the Canadian Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in 1979—to trigger a rash of terrorist attacks. But the most active war against complacency, "Terrorist attacks inflict casualties and damage and also bring the government's credibility into question," it noted in a brief to a Senate committee in September. "Any government can lose its legitimacy in the eyes of its own people if it does not defend them." It is a warning that governments can no longer ignore.

—MARY JANGANIC in Ottawa



COVER

for Israeli troops than Yasir Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization. Increasingly, this is a breakaway group from the main Shite Amal organization, which reaches across the Arab world from Egypt to Iraq and which has a huge membership in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Jordan. The Shites are a Muslim Arab sect which for centuries has suffered deprivation and been relegated to second class status by the large, less-discriminatory Sunnis.

The Shites, whether radical or merely devout and committed to strict observance of Islamic holy laws, are rapidly increasing in numbers and power throughout the Arab world. Since Khomeini launched his purifying revolution and restated Islam pride, the Shites have become increasingly obnoxious and active. Following the Iranian revolution, which at first was seen as a religious crusade, moderate Shites have been winning new respect and funding from Shiite-dominated governments (including Kuwait), and the Amal movement has become far more than an ideologue. But there is increasing impatience, too, with growing U.S. influence in the Middle East, and the radical groups are finding it increasingly easy to recruit, particularly in the smug and hapless Shite slums of suburbs Beirut.

Qasr al-Hayek. The Lebanese city of Beirut serves as headquarters for Islamic Amal, which is led by a 40-year-old former schoolteacher named Hassan Nasrallah. He achieved notoriety in the West by saying that although his group did not launch the October raids on the Marines and the French, he was glad that the attacks had occurred. Nasrallah's group may have fallen under the officer's eye if not the direct command, of the Iranian last year when hundreds of Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards moved into the area to help fight the Israeli. Indeed, it was the June, 1982, Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon that helped forge the Shites—who make up an estimated 40 per cent of Lebanon's roughly 5-million population—into an effective fighting force, a rare instance of nationalism by Israel's Mossad intelligence service, which had predicted wide Shite indifference. For months the Shites have been a new veritable force

new round of reconciliation talks, aimed at establishing a power-sharing formula for Lebanon's diverse Muslim-Christian factions. Such a formula could be a first step toward withdrawal of all foreign forces, the return of peace and the formation of a new Lebanese government of national unity.

Quadruple hit: This week's scheduled departure of 4,500 PLO guerrillas loyal to Arafat from Tripoli was an important part of that process. At week's end, five Greek ships were preparing to take Arafat's men for their journey to Tunisia and North Yemen. The Greek ships were to be escorted by French warships because of fears that Israel, whose gunboats shelled Arafat's positions in Tripoli again last week, might intervene. For his part, Haig planned to visit pressure in the United States for an early withdrawal by the forces, saying



A broadside from the U.S. 82nd New Jersey: the Americans retaliated with a dramatic show of force

selling arms to Lebanese radicals, who continue to harass the U.S. interests, is at least part of the explanation for the increase in U.S.-Soviet hostility.

Last week, Israeli troops continued to fire at U.S. aircraft flying reconnaissance missions over Syrian positions. On Thursday, the Americans retaliated in dramatic fashion: they unleashed the huge 50-inch guns of the battlewagon New Jersey, a recommissioned World War I battleship, which sent half-ton shells a distance of 30 km. By the end of the week, still another missile had been arranged, and we held. Lebanese President Elias Hrawi said that Lebanon would try this week, with Syria and Saudi Arabia, to arrange a

ceasefire to harass the U.S. interests, is at least part of the explanation for the increase in U.S.-Soviet hostility.

Meanwhile, in the volatile Middle East, tiny members of the peacekeeping force, as well as diplomats and ordinary civilians, will have still another danger signal to monitor: the single night of a dump truck rattling through the streets. Now there is the ever-present danger that behind the wheel there may be a driver as intent on murder and destruction as the regime itself seems to be.

With David Borenstein in Jerusalem, Sam Gilbert in Paris, Eric Matthes in London, Michael Power and William Lester in Washington and Robin Wright in Beirut.

The bloodstained names from the past

The meadow broad plasters of the Middle East may be the most threatening manifestation of民族 and international terrorism since the Second World War. But particularly since the 1960s, a succession of ruthless individuals and groups have left their bloody imprint throughout the world. Among them:

Red Brigades: Essentially a left-wing Italian extremist group, the Red Brigades (BR) was present in 1972 with a series of kidnappings and kidnapings of prominent businessmen. The group's best-known exploit was the 1976 kidnapping and murder of former prime minister Aldo Moro. But in



Murdered former prime minister Aldo Moro, Black September partisan in Munich: the unimpeachable import of ruthless individuals

the same year they staged a total of 2,000 terrorist attacks, ranging from kidnapping to murder and robbery. Since 1981, however, security forces have largely curbed the Brigades. About 2,200 members are now in jail, and as far as this year will fit at large have carried out only five attacks.

The Baader-Meinhof gang: Also known as the Red Army Faction, the German group took its name from Joachim Andrupke and Ulrich Meinhof, whose first kidnapping was a series of bank robberies and holdups. In 1977 they killed chief federal prosecutor Siegfried Buback and kidnapper Hans-Joachim Schleyer because, they said, they were "symbols of repression

and lied a series of highly successful individual and terrorist squad attacks in the mid-1970s. In 1973 he shot and severely wounded Joseph Beuys, president of Marlo & Spener, the international food and clothing store chain. A year later, with three other terrorists, he seized the French Embassy in The Hague, forcing the French government to release a paid Japanese terrorist in exchange for 18 hostages. In 1975 and the kidnapping of 11 ministers attending a meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in Vienna. Three people were killed and eight wounded. Most of Baader's activities were aimed at advancing radical Arab causes, and intelligence

sources now believe he lives in Libya. **Black September:** Connected with the Palestine Liberation Organization, it was formed after and named for the September, 1970, explosion of the PLO from Jordan. Black September was responsible for the 1972 massacre at the Munich Olympic Games. In all, 11 Israelis died, along with five journalists. Three attackers escaped. Black September also carried out at least 100 kidnaps. By 1975, however, the organization's members had drifted into other PLO terrorist groups after their leader, Muhammad Yassir al-Najjar, was killed by Israeli commandos, and the name was dropped.

—WILLIAM LOWMYER in Washington

The hockey legends turned out by the bunch—Gordie Howe, Frank Mahovlich, Andy Bathgate, Eddie Shack and the Dryden duo, Ken and Dave—for a benefit match to raise money for a trust fund set up for **Jessie-Lynn Losick**, 10, the champion cyclist who was hit by a truck last August and left a quadriplegic for life. "Team Lowell," coached by the venerable **Don Cherry**, also included other luminaries such as former senator general **Warren Allard** (number 64), artist **Karen Daniels** and columnist-author **Roy MacGregor**, one of the prime movers behind the game. The sellout (\$10 a head) was held at the 24,000-seat **Toronto Arena** to watch the stars face off against the Flying Panthers, a loose-knit, fast-skating crew of Roman Catholic priests who claim that their coach is God. Whoever he is, he is good: the Panthers beat Team Lowell 10-8. An organizer presented a cheque for \$25,000 to Losick's wife, **Sylvia Barker-Losick**, also a record-holding cyclist. Said she: "I thought I would just have to drag the first pack. I did not expect that." About \$10,000 has been raised for the trust fund since lawyer **Peter Kael** began it in September.

A shocked group of Canadian photographers stopped snapping and started scribbling last week in a U.S. photo agency, the **François Hébert** purchased **Montreal**, a stock photo agency owned by **Canada Wide Feature Services**, a subsidiary of the Toronto **Bon Publishing Co.** Since its inception in 1968, Masterfile had specialized in promoting the work of such renowned Canadian photographers as **Frederick Patterson**, **John and Jean Foster**, **Ted Great**, **John Reeves**, and **Bob Brooks**, all of whom are outraged. Said Brooks, a spokesman for 32 of the company's 80 photographers: "I have dedicated my life to photographing Canada. My work, and the work of the other photographers, has become a unique part of Canadian heritage and should be kept here under Canadian control." To that end, the



Chantal Catell by Paul Hellman/Alpha-Media 2000



sham. "After all," said Brooks, "how will we get down to New York know what Saskatchewan really looks like?"

Across **Chantal Catell**, 25, describes herself as "a blonde with a brainiac's brain." And although the former **Miss Toronto** resents the stereotyping of showbiz women, she does not mind the artistic challenge of taking on the part of a flightless character. In the Canadian film **Loose Riders**, due to be released next summer, Catell plays Lila, a woman who abandons her daughter, who describes her as "an actress, singer and dancer who cannot act, sing or dance." On the assumption that Catell can do all three, she set off last week to entertain Canada's troops in Cyprus and Israel with a slick Vegas-style Christmas revue. Said Catell: "Don't let the blonde fool you. I am serious about what I do."

Kara Reid, the grande dame of Canadian theatre, is busy these days—and she likes it that way. "I hope I keep on working until I drop. That is my dream work," she said. Reid, 56, recently ended her leading role in **Robert Lepage's** adaptation of *The Orestes* at the National Arts Centre in Ottawa. But Reid was not happy about the centre's plan to drop the Elizabethan tragedy from its repertoire. "It makes me sick!" she cried. Not that Reid will suffer in addition to her appearance in recent episodes of the popular television series **Buddies**; she has begun rehearsals for the Broadway production of *Death of a Salesman*, with **Daniel Hoffman** as her co-star, which is to open early next year. Hoffman, 46, is making his first stage appearance since 1968, and last August he uncharacteristically attended the Stratford Festival production of the play. Reid looks forward to working with him. "I敬重 his work tremendously," she said. But the much-acclaimed Reid, who received the Order of Canada in 1974, is more reticent about her own achievements on the stage. "It's something I adore doing. It's my job!" □

FINNLANDIA ON ICE.



Bell's pay-as-you-call campaign



Cruckshank: the plan has sparked stiff opposition from consumer critics

For Bell Canada, the nation's long-distance phone company, the verdict was disappointing. If unsatisfactory, Bell released the results of a survey last week which indicated that as many as 78 per cent of 10,000 phone subscribers polled in Ontario and Quebec rejected the idea of switching from the existing system of paying flat rates to one that would require customers to pay for each call. Under local measured service (LMS), as the system is known in the phone business, subscribers pay a low monthly rate along with an additional charge based on the number of calls made, their length, the distance involved and the time of day. But the survey results, as well as strong opposition from consumer groups to LMS, made it clear that Bell, which is intent on its eventual introduction, faces an uphill battle in selling the merits of LMS to the public.

For telephone companies like Bell, the issue is a simple one. Every dollar collected for local calls, says the company, costs \$1.00. Currently, that difference is calculated by long-distance rates and charges for other services. But with competition now emerging in those areas, the companies are looking for new ways to raise money. For these part, critics argue that phone companies are using sleights of hand to buttress their assertion that local calls

are not self-financing. Despite those assertions, it is generally agreed that LMS will ultimately be marketed, not soon, perhaps, but sometime, in phone companies across Canada.

For Donald Cruckshank, Bell's vice-president of corporate communications, the poll results reflected what were the latest steps he had been taking to move to LMS. He declared that the results "plainly reflected customers'

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Bell Canada insists that LMS is needed to meet the costs of increased competition. For one thing, Bell now faces a growing telephone equipment industry that sprung up after a 1979 Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission ruling permitted other firms to hook up their equipment to Bell lines. In addition, Bell, as well as the federally regulated British Columbia Telephone Co., face the possibility of losing its monopoly on long-distance calls following an application last October by CNCP Telecommunications to offer competitive long-distance service to residents in Ontario, Quebec and the Yukon. Mr. Cruckshank says that Bell has already spent \$100 million for a shortfall of \$1.5 billion in local-call service in 1982. Said Cruckshank: "Local

Bell acknowledges that LMS inevitably creates winners and losers. Businesses would be the beneficiaries. Indeed, advocacy groups are concerned by the possibility that measured use could place telephone service beyond the financial reach of not only the handicapped but also the elderly and the poor.

Bell is only one of Canada's dozen major phone companies' considering that. British Columbia Telephone Co.'s five-year capital construction forecast released this year budgets \$10.5 billion for LMS equipment, should the company decide to apply for the service. "It costs us \$2.12 for every \$1 in revenue in local service," said company spokesman David Grove, "and that spend is increasing." In Manitoba, Glenn Schneider, a spokesman for the provincial telephone system, said it, too, is considering measured service. "We regard this as an industry-wide trend," he said.

Indeed, the real issue seems to be not whether but when Bell Canada intends to introduce measured service. Said a 1981 Canadian pamphlet circulated to corporate employees last October: "Given the amount of preparatory work that would have to be done and the length of the regulatory process required, LMS introduction probably will not take place before 1987." Cruckshank boasted last week that "no decisions have been taken, no proposals made." But, based on the survey results, selling the idea to Canadians will be an extremely difficult public relations exercise.

—AMY WALKER, with Amy Pendleton in Toronto and William Lester in Washington

service is greatly underpriced." But consumer groups disagree. The Consumers' Association of Canada argues that subsidy flows result from complex accounting procedures and that most capital costs attributed to local service should be shared with long-distance. Those methods are now under review in the CRTC's Cost Inquiry. The investigation will release their report in February, 1984. "The system is using black box," said Max Wolpert, counsel to the Ottawa-based National Anti-Poverty organization.

Cruckshank also maintained that the survey revealed new measures of support for LMS. When asked whether they would change usage fees if the base rate were 20 per cent higher and the premium on the normal flat rate rose by 20 per cent, only 60 per cent of residential respondents said they would prefer the flat rate. Nut David McManus, an analyst with the Consumers' Association of Canada, said that the 30-per-cent discount figure is arbitrary and that subscribers who had no idea how many local calls they place since switch was not in a position to offer an informed opinion.

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—AMY WALKER, with Amy Pendleton in Toronto and William Lester in Washington

A legal double standard

It was a shadowy episode when it first surfaced in 1976, and last week it emerged again as a difficult issue for the federal government to handle. In a 5 to 2 decision, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that two federal Crown corporations, Edmundo Nuclear Ltd. and the now defunct Uranium Canada Ltd., cannot be tried under the Combines Investigation Act for alleged串通 in connection with a government-backed uranium cartel that functioned from 1972 to 1975. Standing down the



No Algonquin operator unequal

decision, Mr. Justice Brian Dickson said that as agents of the Crown, the two firms were not subject to the act. That ruling came in conjunction with a decision by the Liberals of holding behind the majority of the Conservative and Conservative-Recorder Coalition. The Liberal majority sent a letter to the prime minister requesting that the two firms be held responsible for their actions.

The decision means that the two Crown firms will not have to face charges laid by the justice department in 1981, claiming that they and four private firms — Gulf Minerals Canada Ltd., Denison Mines Ltd., Hecla Gold Ltd. and Transcar Canada Ltd. — violated the

Combines Act by conspiring to fix uranium prices in Canada. At the same time, federal officials were saved from having to answer potentially embarrassing questions about their role in the affair. By contrast, the private firms involved may have to defend themselves in court. If the justice department presses ahead with the charges.

The history of the case begins in the early 1970s. At the time, world uranium prices had slipped to about \$4 a pound following a 1969 U.S. decision to halve imports to prevent domestic producers.

After the border lobbying proved ineffective, Canada took the lead in forming the cartel. The key men involved were then Energy Minister Donald Macdonald, his deputy minister, Jack Austin, now minister responsible for the Canada Development Investment Corp., and government uranium expert John Russell. Canada joined with South Africa, France, Australia and the Rio Tinto Zinc mining conglomerate of Great Britain to form the so-called Club of Five in 1972. Its purpose is to exert on the world uranium market and set base prices. As well, according to the private Canadian firms involved, the government convinced them to cooperate too. As a member of the cartel, Canada was allotted 35.5 per cent of the market until 1977. Under the Combines Act, such arrangements involving exports are illegal. But the cartels fit into a legal grey area. In 1975, when the U.S. government's Westinghouse Electric Corp. which could not fulfil contracts for uranium and other companies for damages, alleging that the cartel had helped inflate the uranium price. Then, after the U.S. justice department started an investigation of the affair, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and his government shaped an unprecedented gag order on all information relating to the cartel. Still, federal competition officials in Ottawa were concerned about the possibility that Canadian members of the cartel also rigged prices domestically, which is illegal. In 1981, after a four-year investigation, charges were laid against the firms.

Judy Keila, the minister of consumer and corporate affairs, promised last week that new consumer legislation will plug the loopholes created for Crown corporations. That is, at least, what she appears to be a glaring discrepancy in the law. As Dickson noted, last week's ruling, however, could legally "serve to confine with legal nations of society before the law." —JAMES PLEIMBOURG in Toronto





A United truck; prices and service that were "virtually identical" across the nation

No competition on the highways

The affair began simply enough. An independent mover from Edmonton phoned the federal government's Combines Investigation Branch with a complaint that the major van lines which dominate the country's interprovincial moving business had given him an ultimatum: join their cartel or they would drive him out of business. That was 17 years and millions of dollars ago. But last week in the Supreme Court of Ontario, the five major national van lines were found guilty of conspiracy and restraint of trade.

That finding did not vindicate the complainant of the Edmontonians, who identify the combines' branch will not reveal, but it may dramatically alter the cost and efficiency of moving in Canada.

The court fined the five tracking firms—Atlas Van Lines Ltd., United Van Lines (Canada) Ltd., North American Van Lines Canada Ltd., Aver Mayflower Transit Co. Ltd. and Atlas Van Lines (Canada) Ltd.—\$226,300. The outcome also ended a system that for 80 years effectively eliminated any significant competition. Backed by their 60-per-cent market share, the van lines created what Crown counsel Larry Barnes described as "a sophisticated protectionary formula, resulting in tariffs so similar in form, content and effective date as to be virtually identical."

The van lines themselves do not own trucks or employ any moving workers—

control of warehouse operations, they established two non-unionized organizations—the Canadian Household Goods Carriers Tariff Bureau and the Canadian Association of Movers. At first the process worked. On the surface it gave the impression that the van lines had embarked on a legally acceptable course. But underneath, as the combines branch was soon to learn, the new setup was actually a refinement of the earlier conspiracy.

The Canadian based movers' association was given responsibility for public and government relations, and the newly formed Tariff Bureau took over the rate-setting functions of the CWA. So identical were the rates between the van lines' affiliated agents that they maintained the same operating procedures.

It is unclear how much the additional cost added to Canadians' moving bills over the years. Ed Kolekaitis, one of the van lines' lawyers, told the court that the price reflected only costs "plus a reasonable markup." But Roy Attarson, director of the section of the combines branch that ran the price-fixing, said last week that a general prohibition order imposed on the companies, not the fine, is the most important aspect of the sentence. Said Attarson: "The only way to end this was to go to an end break them up. A fine will not do that, but a prohibition order certainly will."

The stringent court order will force the CWA bureau to close shop at the end of December. The cost of its publications, telephone services, whatever their form, but the order requires the van lines to allow their agents to begin competitive pricing.

But for households who moved between provinces over the past 30 years, the constraint is less likely to provide relief. The Convergence Act makes the rents of last week's court action available to anyone who wants to launch a small revolt against the van lines. Because of the gas price, Banash said the only issue is a civil suit would be the amount of settlement. But, except for some corporations which exceed large numbers of employees during the 20-year period, not many people or firms—if any—will go to the trouble and expense of trying to determine the extent to which the cartel inflated their bills. But at least the breakup of the conspiracy may translate into lower costs in the future. —IAN AUSTIN in Toronto

BUSINESS WATCH

Restraint on a universal scale

By Peter C. Newman

Assuming the social security system is not a special preserve of Wacky Bennett's son, Bill.

The countries of Western Europe, which provided many of the legislative examples that originally set our welfare measures in place, are cutting back those programs to avoid national bankruptcy.

François Mitterrand's government has introduced a basic hospital fee, compulsory for all but the most severely disadvantaged, and a special surtax to make up its social security overspending. West Germany's coalition government has proposed savage slashes in welfare spending to trim its deficit by at least \$3.5 billion. Child allowances will be reduced, allowable maternity leave shortened from four to three months and pensioners' benefits cut.

In Italy the Socialist coalition has introduced sharp reductions in child allowances, restricted disability pensions and set spending limits on medical care. The total package, if it gets through parliament, will save an estimated \$9 billion. The Christian Democratic-Liberal coalition in the Netherlands has tabled a 3½-per-cent cut in welfare spending, affecting mainly pensions and health services.

The Scandinavian countries, whose governments prided themselves on Europe's most imaginative welfare policies, are now having to go the furthest in modifying them. Norway has been the least affected because of its massive North Sea oil revenues, but even there a five-per-cent income policy is in effect. The left-leaning administration of Sweden's Prime Minister Olof Palme has had to lower pensions, increase taxes, cut back foreign aid, reduce food subsidies and increase user fees for medical and pharmaceutical services—all part of a devastating social welfare reduction. The British government has been experiencing similar strains. Unemployment still totals three million, but the Thatcher government continues to dismantle the welfare state set up by its predecessors. (In contrast, spending that's boasting the British economy, Fortescue & Masons, the Canadian-owned luxury specialty store in London's Piccadilly district, is budgeting to sell more than 32,500 food hamper this Christmas, at as much as \$1,000 a shot.)

The restrictive measures pushed through Western Europe's legislatures

this fall should not just a warning of what is in store for Canada but a new direction of economic development for the entire free world. To get a perspective on this and other contemporary issues, during a recent visit to London I called on Lord Bell of Ipswich, recognized as one of Britain's most thoughtful economists. Lord Bell has been chairman of S.G. Warburg & Co. Ltd., the London merchant bankers, since

the development of social expenditures has taken place against a background of fairly strong, uninterrupted economic growth; that now, with the prospects not terribly good for the next 18 months, it is a very difficult time for reductions."

Lord Bell regards budgetary deficits as "not an unwise blessing," pointing out that they have, in some measure, been responsible for the current recovery. Major contractors of expansion of public policies is probably different, he points out, because it tends to go on much longer than is actually justified. Instead of relying on fast-growing interest rates, Bell is convinced that governments should be using income policies to deal with inflation and believes that extreme monetarism cannot work. "It has suffered from too many contradictions," he says. "Economics, when translated into policymaking, is not unlike the transition from, say, a certain branch of physics to electrical engineering. It's not nearly as clear cut as it seems."

Bell is a profound believer in the international monetary system and had a large hand in shaping it, but he can't see another Bretton Woods Conference being called in the near future to carry out the necessary reforms. "Some 84 countries participated in the original Bretton Woods Conference," he recalls, "but it was very much the work of the United States and Great Britain with the help of banking institutions such as Louis Rotschild. Today that format would be out of the question. One would have to come some means of involving all of the present members of the World Bank without a meeting becoming totally unwieldy. There may be means of doing that, but it will take quite a while to work out."

This has been the year Western Europe surrendered to the superior technology of Japan, not only in the mass world of high tech but in recognition-defining accomplishments such as building the 34-mile-long Seikan Tunnel, which will link that country's two largest islands. Thus, at a time when the shorter and much less complicated Channel Tunnel remains a distant talking point between the British and French governments.

Such cool, points aside, the visitor transiting the halls of Western Europe's legislatures these days feels as if he is witnessing the end of a cycle, with no one quite sure what kind of society will emerge with the next turn of the wheel.



Painful, even Sardines are cutting back

1974. The author of seven standard academic texts, including *The World After Keynes* and *A History of Economic Thought*, he was a director of the Bank of England from 1969 to 1977, undersecretary of state in the British government and holds joint about every honor the United Kingdom affords. "Government," he told me, "is certainly going to have to reduce their welfare spending in the long term because social charges have become rather enormous—but we're uncertain but uncertain."



Washington's conquering Redskins

When Joe Theismann graduated from the University of Notre Dame in 1971, the young quarterback took a calculated risk instead of warming the bench with the Miners Dolphins of the National Football League. Theismann went to Toronto and struggled in the Canadian Football League. Argonauts unsuccessfully sought to win the Grey Cup. After three years in Canada, Theismann gambled that his NFL experience would pay off and NFL standards had taken some years, but the gamble certainly paid off for the NFL's smallest quarterback. Last year Theismann led the Washington Redskins to the Super Bowl championship. This year, with the NFL's top-rated quarterback at the helm, the team has the best record in the league—14 wins and only two losses. As the Redskins prepare to defend their Super Bowl title in the NFL playoffs that begin next week, "the Throw" finally has emerged as the NFL superstar he was convinced he would become.

Currently, with the 26-year-old Theismann at the controls, the Redskins are the class of '83. With one regular season game remaining, Theismann had completed more than 60 per cent of his passes, 27 for touchdowns and only seven of 421 balls thrown had been intercepted. Theismann is also rated the league's top quarterback by the NFL's sophisticated, computer-based system of performance assessment. By the league's standard, he receives a 100 Rating, only the ninth quarterback in history to earn a rating over 100.

Still, Theismann would not be heading into the playoffs as the odds-on favorite to win another Super Bowl, playing without assistance of the Hogs, the Burros, the Fan Ranch and the Pearl Harbor Gang—groups of players who have been subsumed and taken to heart by Redskins—and Washington The-

Hogs are the offensive linemen, those of whom—center Jeff Martin, guard Russ Grimes and tackle Mark May—will join Theismann, wide receiver "Down Town" Charlie Brown, free safety Mark Murphy and 280-lb defensive tackle Dave Butz on the NFL's All-Pro team. The Hogs are responsible for Redskin John Riggins' assault on O.J. Simpson's record 32 touchdowns. Biggins broke it

Harbor Gang (defensive backs). Of the cast, Theismann says, "I like to define our team as a group of characters with character. I sometimes feel like I am the ringmaster at a Barnum & Bailey circus. They are all individuals." But as a team the Redskins have forced opponents to turn over the ball 16 times or intercept them 10 times, while giving it up only 18 times themselves. The Pearl

Harbor Gang is the team's only weak group. The Redskins rank 28th out of 32 teams again in the pass. They rank first in the run by having wide receiver and more so sparkly themselves than Redskins opponents are forced to pass on almost every down. That, in turn, means that they also lead 28th in interceptions, with Murphy leading after picking off nine passes.

After innocently predicting that the Dallas Cowboys would beat the Redskins in their Dec. 11 showdown, the football game of the year for Washington's fans, local sportswriter Dave Kistner declared: "The '83 Redskins are one of the three or four best teams ever." And it is all this. In history since the Earth's crust cooled" Theismann is less beautiful. "It is too early to tell if we are the best Redskins team ever or the best team ever," he says. "We are as good as we were last year when we won the Super Bowl, and from an experience point of view perhaps a bit better."

The next few weeks of playoffs will tell. The Cowboys are also in the chase again, along with the Los Angeles Raiders, the Dolphins and a cluster of other determined underdogs. Nevertheless, in the Washington area most have to content themselves with televised images of the Burros, not the players. On the Redskins' home turf, it takes 10 years to get season tickets. Hat-tricks in Periods, with Michael Powell in Washington,



The Fan Ranch celebrates "one of the best since the Earth cooled."

on Saturday with his 20th touchdown when the Redskins set an all-time NFL single-season scoring record of 541 points.

Backing up the Hogs are the Burros (the team's smaller players, backs and receivers), the Fan Ranch (the group that gathers in the end zone after each Redskins touchdown for an airborne "hug fest") and Redskins and the Pearl

Harbor Gang (defensive backs). Of the cast, Theismann says, "I like to define our team as a group of characters with character. I sometimes feel like I am the ringmaster at a Barnum & Bailey circus. They are all individuals." But as a team the Redskins have forced opponents to turn over the ball 16 times or intercept them 10 times, while giving it up only 18 times themselves. The Pearl

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
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Doctors at work in Toronto. The proposed legislation has divided support.

HEALTH

Unveiling the contentious new Canada health act

By Patricia Hickey

At first the medical profession and most provincial governments doffed their hats to "Social Medicare" and a "plan." Those responses were largely predictable after Federal Health Minister Marcia Biggs visited her long-suffering Canadian health act last week. But health care lobby groups and the New Democratic Party predicted the fact that the legislation will impose dollar-for-dollar penalties on provinces that allow hospital user fees or extra billing by doctors. Thus, to the surprise of many observers, the federal Progressive Conservatives also declared their support for the bill. And by week's end, even the 38,000-member Canadian Medical Association had softened its stand. Said former CMA president Dr. Marc Baltzan, standing in for Dr. Everett Coffe who was ill: "We wish to take a non-confrontational approach to the Canada health act."

The provinces, doctors and the federal Tories have consistently maintained that inadequate federal funding is eroding Canada's health system. But Biggs maintains that user fees and extra billing are the real canes of the problem. She said last week that the inability or refusal of some provinces to prevent extra health charges had cur-

vinced her that it was "absolutely essential" to legislate stiff penalties for user fees and extra billing. Biggs added that the national total of those charges had increased to at least \$106 million in the year ending June. Separately—\$70 million in extra billing and \$38 million in user fees from Ontario alone—reflects the new legislation. Ontario will deduct from its cash payments to the provinces the sum amount that the government allows in user fees and extra billing. The federal government would also withhold "discretionary" amounts from provinces that break other medical rules, such as the requirement that 100 per cent of residents be entitled to medical insurance. Current legislation requires only a 95-per-cent entitlement. Biggs hopes that the new bill will become law by next April. Over the following three years federal funds that are withheld because of extra billing and user fees will be placed in a special trust fund, and the provinces can recover the extra billing because it says that it violates the principle of universal access to comprehensive medical care. But doctors are angered by the charge from within the medical ranks that their system of extra billing is undermining medicine. Said Dr. Marc Baltzan, former head of the Canadian Medical Association: "That is absolute and utter garbage."

Provinces also do not want hospitals to charge user fees as they do in British Columbia. And they argue that medical costs will balloon out of control unless revenues, which are projected to grow 3 per cent, not by changes in provinces currently, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia charge premiums to all but those who qualify for special exemptions, leaving low- and high-income

biggest dollar for dollar



money if they have extra charges. At the beginning of the week, Coffe, of the CMA, described the act as "Medicare" and the "government's attempt of [a] government desperately seeking a way to get re-elected." He called an emergency meeting of representatives of provincial medical associations in Toronto last week and said that the CMA would support any doctors' strike to protest the bill. But at the gathering the doctors made an about-face and decided to become more conciliatory, calling for a meeting with Biggs and the Prime Minister. Said Baltzan: "You do not go to war first. You try diplomacy." And if the provinces banned extra billing, he said, then each provincial medical association would take whatever action it wanted. The CMA's new stance, however, may have little bearing on these. Said Edward Moran, general secretary of the Ontario Medical Association, earlier in the week: "In fact we are captured in a narrow service-oriented model of what government will become under this bill."

Morans say on the part of doctors' lobby will be directed at their provincial governments after the act becomes law, but the two groups are now strong allies in opposing the legislation. Like the medical profession, the provinces say that the act undercut the real threat to mediocre inadequate federal funding. Nova Scotia Health Minister Gerald Shantz said that federal money accounts for 42 per cent of his province's health costs. He added that Nova Scotia, which has no user fees but does permit physicians to extra bill, could not afford to lose the estimated \$4.4 million that the province's doctors extra bill. The large provinces with Conservative governments stand to lose much more and they may turn to the federal government for help. In a confrontation with their federal counterparts, Ontario doctors who have opposed the proposed national health plan extra bill for almost \$50 million annually, while Alberta physician extra bill will roughly \$14 million.

There will likely be a concentrated debate over the terms of the act in the months ahead. Conservative health critic John Epp says that he wants to make a number of amendments to the bill, including an exemption of the scope to include such areas as home and community-based care and the care wants to meet with the health minister. But Biggs said that she will not change the essentials of the act. Despite the opposition, the medicare bill will likely survive intact. □

Nurses take the offensive

By Linda McQuaig

For years, doctors have been at the centre of public attention in the medicare debate. Nurses, on the other hand, have gone relatively unnoticed. But that situation is changing rapidly, as nurses mount a vigorous campaign to influence Canadian health care policy. And their proposals are placing them increasingly in opposition to the doctors. Last week, as physicians denounced the new federal health care act, which calls for penalties on provinces that allow hospital user fees and extra-billing by doctors, the Canadian Nurses Association (CNA) joined them, arguing that it should have a voice too. The association, which represents 166,300 nurses across the country, wants to end the practice of

nurses paying the same health bills. These suggestions are unpopular with some provincial governments, but the nurses' real confrontation may take place within the medical profession itself. Nurses insist that they do not want to antagonize doctors. But some of the nurses' recommendations conflict sharply with the wishes of physicians. In addition to opposing extra billing, the nurses want a reorganization of much of the health care system.

They are pressuring for community health clinics in which nurses would see patients before deciding whether their illnesses are serious enough to refer them to a doctor. Many doctors contend that nurses are not qualified to make such referrals. The association, which represents 166,300 nurses across the country, wants to end the practice of



Nurses at a Vancouver hospital station; Glass, mounting a vigorous, independent campaign to influence health care policy

extra billing because it says that it violates the principle of universal access to comprehensive medical care. But doctors are angered by the charge from within the medical ranks that their system of extra billing is undermining medicine. Said Dr. Marc Baltzan, former head of the Canadian Medical Association: "That is absolute and utter garbage."

Provinces also do not want hospitals to charge user fees as they do in British Columbia. And they argue that medical costs will balloon out of control unless revenues, which are projected to grow 3 per cent, not by changes in provinces currently, Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia charge premiums to all but those who qualify for special exemptions, leaving low- and high-income

users, argues that in every area of medicine nurses could do far more than the United States there used to do. In the United States there used to be—and still are—in some parts—nurse anesthetists who, with a year or two of extra training, were able to carry out full anesthetic services during an operation. Over the years doctors increasingly took that role over exclusively for themselves. Sutherland says that nurses could still act as anesthetists, as long as a fully trained medical specialist was on call nearby. Said Sutherland: "Nurses could take over anesthetics one-third to two-thirds of anesthetics."

Sutherland added that part of the current financing problem is that there are some medical doctors in Canada. As a result, many physicians are reluctant to give up their roles to nurses—unless to admit that no one is capable of handling it. For his part, Baltzan says that nurses are not capable of doing a



great deal more than they do. But nurses insist that they can handle many more tasks—and already do so in situations in which doctors are not readily available, such as in hospitals on weekends and in remote northern areas where doctors are reluctant to settle.

As the medicare debate grows more intense, doctors argue that more of the burgeoning costs of health care should be transferred to private citizens. But the increasingly vocal nurses' lobby is determined to convince the public that it makes more sense to simply reduce the costs. With a stagnant economy and a resounding national health bill, the nurses' plan has a good chance of falling on sympathetic ears.

With files from Alice Glass in Ottawa



Display of souvenirs from the papal visit to Germany; silver chalice

RELIGION

Preparing for the Pope

By Susan Riley

Vatican officials are calling Pope John Paul II's trip to Canada next fall a "pastoral visit," but so far it bears all the earmarks of a commercial bonanza. The Pope will visit 11 cities between Sept. 9 and 23, and the largest crowds ever assembled in the country will spend millions of dollars on hotels, travel and souvenirs. Organizers expect as many as one million people-diggers at an open-air fair in Dawson Creek, northwest of Toronto. The trip is a multimillion-dollar blessing for Canada's religious sojourning business, and already entrepreneurs are lining up to share in the wealth. Roman Catholic officials, alarmed at the possibility of ads featuring the Pope's image, have formed a committee to sacrifice papal souvenirs and weed out the tacky and the tasteless. And in Ottawa, the federal government, which has assumed responsibility for security, travel and the press, has gathered 36 federal government bureaucrats to worry, among other things, about how to house and transport an estimated 8,000 Canadian and foreign media representatives. By the time the Pope's visit ends, it will have cost the Canadian taxpayer

at least \$10.6 million, not including any extra money spent by the Roman Catholic Church.

The church hopes to rump up some cash by licensing souvenirs. But from the time the president of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops announced the tour in early May, the conference of each diocese issued a statement emphasizing what happened in Rome during the year of canonization: proposals had to be taken under advisement. Finally, they asked Montreal licensing expert Richard Garven, president of International Licensing Corp., to sort the gold from the dross. If Garven finalizes an agreement with the conference, he will allow the Pope's image to be used as tasteful souvenirs in return for a royalty. Said Garven, "Parishes and parishes are an embarrassment to the church, and a papal visit is certainly no occasion to flood the market with gewgaws." That means that no major souvenir manufacturers will produce beer mugs, ashtrays or cigarette holders bearing the official papal logo. Tour officials privately admit that there is little they can do to prevent individuals from selling poor-taste mementos. However, a committee set up by Canada's bishops will approve porcelain, jewelry and glassware souvenirs.

As they braced for the onslaught, some tour operators are apprehensive. Said one, "It is going to be hard to keep a spiritual tone because that is such a commercialized media show." That, ultimately, may be the Pope's personal contribution. ♦

and soon a golf shirt, "with a discreet reference to the papal visit." The conference could generate revenues of \$4 million from the sale of \$40 million worth of souvenirs.

At the heart of the expensive extravaganza stands a man known chiefly for the simplicity of his tastes and the bluntness of his communications.

Before the Pope leaves, the grandiose in Quebec City on Sept. 9, his first stop,

Canadian bishops and others will have briefed him, and he is expected to speak on divorce and the family, native rights

and global peace. But the millions of North American Catholics who flock to see the Pope may not like what they hear. If past experience is any guide, the Pope's statements, an enigma in itself to be stern and uncompromising. A strict conservative on sexual issues, the Pope has rarely tempered his condemnation of modern behavior. In a paper on sex education released last month the Vatican called extramarital sex a "grave disorder" and labelled homosexuality "a serious maladjustment."

The Vatican and Pope John Paul II's

hard-line on sexuality—and the church's continuing ban on birth control, divorce and abortion—has led to strains in Rome's relations with church leaders in North America. Another irritant in the Pope's continuing refusal to allow women an equal role in the church. In October he ordered US clergy to stop defending the ordination of women and also called for a tougher line on several issues. At the annual meeting of US bishops in Washington last week, many privately admitted to being caught between the Pope's orders and the growing disaffection of ordinary Catholics, many of whom ignore Rome's teachings on sex. For their part, the Canadian bishops are not encouraging the Pope to address the women's issue directly. Whether or not he takes their advice remains to be seen.

In a less controversial vein, the Pope will call for global peace, perhaps endearing Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's soaring crowds. He is also expected to offer some encouragement to native peoples and he personally asked that Yellowknife be added to the already demanding 11-city tour. While the itinerary will not be finally approved by the Vatican until mid-July, provincial stops include St. John's, Newfoundland; Halifax; Quebec City; Montreal; Ottawa-Hull, Toronto; Winnipeg; Edmonton; and Vancouver.

As they braced for the onslaught,

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PRESS

France's 'censorship' bill

En support of France's governing Socialist Party, which decided that the decision could be a case of doing the right thing for the wrong reason. When President François Mitterrand's administration announced late last month that it would break up the nation's newspaper empire with a law forcing ownership of national and regional dailies, it claimed to be striking a blow for diversity in a press noted

for its sharp partisan coverage.

Yet opponents of

the bill were quick to note that the French press has long been liable to suffer from the restriction imposed by the government's leading press critic, Robert Harsin, who has used his three national publications and 14 provincial dailies to attack Mitterrand's policies. As a result, the opposition introduced a motion of censure as soon as the government tabled its press law in the National Assembly last week. The government easily defeated the motion, but the battle with Harsin is just beginning.

Former Prime Minister

Jacques

Chirac said that the purpose of the press bill was "to free journalists and newspapers from undue pressure from government, big press groups and advertisers." It will prevent any group from controlling both a national daily and a provincial paper or from owning more than three national papers if their combined circulation amounts to more than 35 per cent of France's total national daily sales of less than three million copies. As for France's thriving regional press, which sells more than seven million copies daily, the legislation limits any one group to no more than a 15-per-cent slice of newspaper circulation a region.

But what made the antitrust bill seem suspect to many in France was that it appeared, despite government claims, to be aimed exclusively at eradicating Harsin. The 80-year-old right-winger is the only French publisher

who owns three national dailies (as well as 10 provincial papers and 14 magazines). The Harsin empire includes the antiforeign *Le Figaro*, *France-Soir* and *L'Espresso* in Paris and accounts for 60 per cent of national daily sales as well as 35 per cent of provincial circulation.

In an enraged reaction to the bill, Harsin, a controversial figure who, according to his critics, collaborated with Germany during the Second World War, accused the government of "sozialitatisierung." He boasted himself, in his resistance to the Mitterrand regime—which recently pursued him for tax evasion and for illegally raising *Le Figaro's* price—to Poland's Lech Wałęsa. Even the left-leaning daily *Libération* sided with Harsin, suggesting that he was a victim of government vindictiveness and pointing his record of helping saving many from extinction. The French editor's association joined right-wing politicians in criticizing the bill, declaring that it threatened press freedom. The right-wing daily *Quotidien* accused the government of censorship and presented a 19th-century cartoon showing a bloodied-jacketed journalist with his hands tied behind his back. And the right-leaning weekly *L'Espresso* observed that the antitrust bill failed to touch the French state's own monopoly over television and radio broadcasting.

In Canada the federal government now appears to have dropped plans that it was considering last summer for similarly controversial legislation to control the newspaper industry. For the French government, the legislation is the beginning of the battle. Harsin died last week but he was considering ways of keeping his empire intact, even if he has to sell some papers. "I shall sell them," he said pragmatically. "With imagination."

—PETER LORIS in Paris

SMOOTH AS SILK



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Babies going through their paces at a Toronto fitness centre. The latest new focus of the exercise craze is getting younger

LIVING

Workouts for toddlers

At the Jewish Community Centre of Toronto, parents dangle ribbons and balloons in front of six-to-eight-month-old infants to encourage them to stretch and roll over. They call the toddlers' exercise class "Babies and Tots". Sixty older children, aged eight months to a year, crawl through and climb over obstacles in a "Creeper's Corral" class. Across the country community centres are introducing similar preschoolers' exercise programs, with names such as "Daper dance spans". At least two exercise programs franchise plans to offer classes in Canada specifically geared to toddlers. In print and in books and records, infant fitness has become the hottest new focus of the North American preoccupation with exercise. But the trend is highly controversial, dividing advocates of creative free play from those who claim that the earlier children learn good motor skills, the better off they will be in sports.

So far, the demand for infant exercise programs appears to be growing. Birna Alton-Diamond, a franchise firm with more than 100 exercise centres in Ontario and Quebec, plans to introduce four pilot programs in March. Another franchise operation, Gymshark, with 100 centres in the United States specializing in gym programs for infants and preschoolers, plans to expand into Canada by next summer. Its young partners perform what the company calls "toddler bootcamp" — "an aerobic, stretching, lifting and dancing" to

rock 'n' roll on child-size equipment. Even children's television programs have expanded into the preschool fitness movement. The producers of *Sesame Street* last year released a record called *Big Bird's Beach Aerobics*. And as another record, Walt Disney's Mickey Mouse exhorts very young children to dance, head and switch to his "Mickey mouse music".

As the classes expand, fitness-addicted parents are paying as much as \$60 for six months of some combination of classes. Bill Ted Thompson, director of physical education at Toronto's Jewish Community Centre, "Kids do not go to the Y just to play anymore. If the parent only has two hours with the kid, these two hours are going to be crucial. Everything is packed in now." Added Terry Odean, professor of pediatrics at sport and physical activity at the University of Ottawa and author of two books on co-operative sports and games for children: "By dropping adult structure on very young kids sooner and earlier, the situation backfires. If you do not allow fun and the kids are always being evaluated, you will turn them off, and in the long run you will lose them."

Looking for something constructive to do with their children, parents have turned to a young New York-based fitness expert, claims that her program increases the brain's weight, use and



Sepkoski and his dinosaur,菊石 every 26 million years

NATURAL HISTORY

Catastrophes that changed the world

By Pat O'Hearn

The quadruped arose two years ago, when a Nobel Prize-winning physicist and his geologist son started the astrosaur community. They produced compelling evidence that the mighty dinosaurs had become extinct—

not from gradual, natural processes, but because a huge asteroid had crashed into the Earth. And now a new study indicates that similar mass extinctions, whether sudden or more gradual, happened regularly during the Earth's history, probably every 26 million years. "In fact, people have studied one extinction event," said John Sepkoski, a University of Chicago paleontologist and coauthor of the new study, to be published next month in the U.S. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*. But his studies included fossils "covering the past 260 million years" and revealed a series of catastrophic events occurring in cycles.

Since Sepkoski discussed his preliminary data in August, some eager astrobiologists have searched the heavens for evidence of a major event—which at the solar system moving through the galactic debris or passing near another star—that occurs every 26 million years. If the extirpation beam fails, or if scientists can substantiate the Chicago study in other ways, the way in which mankind views the evolution of life on Earth may change irrevocably.

When Sepkoski began his study eight years ago, he was interested only in fluctuations in the diversity of animal types over the ages. He hoped that his findings would explain apparent changes in the rate of evolution. But eight months ago, Sepkoski's colleague at the University of Chicago, paleontologist David Raup, noted what appeared to be a "jagged pulse" in the fossilized evidence of ancient life. By applying various methods of statistical and mathematical analysis to established fossil origins, they concluded that large-scale extinctions took place every 26 million

years. According to that calculation, the next rash of extinctions should occur in 25 million years. Said Sepkoski: "We were very surprised. We had assumed that each extinction period would be unique and that the periods would occur randomly."

Scientists have long known of such

some simple explanation for the pulses?

In searching for that explanation, scientists cannot ignore the asteroid theory about the demise of the dinosaurs. In 1980, when a team of astrosaurists from the University of California at Berkeley—including geologist Walter Alvarez and physicist Luis Alvarez—presented their catastrophic extinction theory, colleagues greeted it with skepticism. But since then many other scientists have studied the Berkeley data and conducted their own analyses, and the idea has gained credence. The Alvarez theory suggests that the extinction, when it occurred, was absolute, massive and diverse, many forms of life ended abruptly when an object at least 10 km wide collided with the Earth. The impact, according to the theory, threw enough debris into the atmosphere to block out sunlight for many months, preventing plant growth and therefore depriving animals of food.

The disappearance of dinosaur fossils evidence in rock sediments coincides with the appearance of an unusual layer of soil bearing exceptionally high concentrations of rare elements usually associated with comets and meteorites, such as iridium and osmium. Sepkoski used radiometric analysis of the so-called Cretaceous-Tertiary boundary, by the Berkeley scientists and, since then, by other groups show as much as 30 times the normal amounts of the trace elements iridium and osmium.

Such evidence has convinced Alvarez, a geologist at Rutgers University, for one, that there is a connection between large meteoritic impacts and extinctions on Earth. Abdosh Shcherbakov, a well-known authority on asteroids and comets, "I don't think the one at the end of the Cretaceous was the only one, I think there were lots of them." In fact, the Alvarez team found similar iridium anomalies at another extinction period, at the end of the Eocene epoch, 26 million years ago, said Walter Alvarez. "The Sepkoski-Raup data, if it is



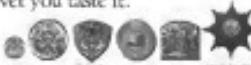
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Photo by A. Horowitz

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true, does not conflict with our findings at all."

But, even if both the asteroid hypothesis and the periodic extinction pattern are true, scientists still need to know a common cause. In 1980, when the Albert group first presented its results, Vassilis Canevascini and William Napier, astronomers at the Royal Observatory in Edinburgh, pointed out that over every 100 million years the solar system passes through giant molecular clouds, possibly picking up a new supply of comets, each time. That encouraged paleontologists to look for extinctions 100 million years apart. But now, with the apparent pattern of 25 million years to work with, scientists are looking for other extraterrestrial cycles as well. Richard Schwartz, an astrophysicist at the University of Missouri in St. Louis, is working on a report arguing that the extinction periods might coincide with movements of the sun—and the solar system—up and down in the plane of the galaxy. His theory involves a time frame of approximately 32 million years, instead of 25 million years. Schwartz argues that the asteroid impact at the time of the demise of the dinosaurs was probably just a coincidence.

The Bohlin and Chandra studies are generating answers to ask questions that might have seemed absurd a decade ago, and to view the history of life on Earth from a new vantage point. Says Sepkoski: "Our study is another reminder that we are not alone on this Earth, that we are influenced by processes beyond its borders." Increasingly, scientists are abandoning the traditional Darwinian idea, involving a haphazard evolution as species succeed by adapting to the environment, as only part of the total picture. "Most of the time the Darwinian mechanism of evolution operates," said Walter Alvarez. "But there are many occasions, very unusual occasions, when it can't survive. There, these last few millions of years, it evolves and develops rapidly, often in the empty niches." In Ottawa, Dale Russell, curator of fossil vertebrates at the National Museum of Natural Sciences, has taken a unique approach. He believes that evolution would have produced intelligent creatures from the dinosaurs if a catastrophe had not occurred. With the help of a taxidermist, Russell built a five-foot Phoenix model of such a creature, looking remarkably like a human being. Considered Russell: "It looks as if the species in the drama might change after an extinction event, but the story would remain the same." If that is true, human beings can ultimately thank the gift of an event asteroid, or some cyclical extraterrestrial event, for allowing them to step into their role as Earth's most intelligent creatures. □

THEATRE

Domestic ferment stars on Broadway

By Mark Cuneo

The closets of American theaters are full of family skeletons. From Eugene O'Neill to the virulent contemporary satirist Christopher Durang, complex and distorted domestic relationships have always crowded the country's stages. That is again the case currently in New York. After a famously crippling season on Broadway last year, nothing seems safer for the box office than to draw attention away from amateur bombs with even more amateurish bombs from the family. And from that perspective, yesterday's provocative, mainstream American theatre continues to ignore the potential for expansion and revitalization evident in works imported from other countries and cultures.

Terrence McNally was America's kid priest of domestic ferment, and the initial momentum to his memory on Broadway since his death earlier this year is a star-laden production of his first hit, *The Glass Menagerie*. Instead of reducing the play to window dressing for a showcase performance by that archetypal faded southern belle, Amanda Wingfield (Debra Zoell), director John Drouillard has tried to give all elements their due so that the production moves smoothly together. Ming Cho Lee's *Woman in Gold* has set struggles successfully to enforce her claim to a St. Louis tenement with the gentle comedy of memory. Zoell's muted passivity and Brigitte Horney's cheerfully cantankerous rendition of Amanda's debt-ridden son, Tom, break the passion from their positioned relationship. Only in the springing scene between her daughter, Laura (Amanda Plummer), and the gentleman caller (definitively played by John Heard) do the subtleties in *Memento* assume flesh and blood more than glass.

Just as disconcerting is director Anthony Page's revival of *Heartbreak House*, George Bernard Shaw's despicably parable about postwar humanity's inevitable self-sabotage. The production is an import from London's West End, which appears as anxious as Bechtler to avoid social comment. The first "C�" you think of something that will stir up half of Europe and hang?" and "Give me deeper dialogue. Money is not made in the light; drift away like sheep from their meadows. As a result, the play's household of dilettantes, who glibly applaud as air raid as if it were theatre, are left with



From Brook's *La Traviata de Comme*: searching for new ways to tell old tales

little more than a witty drawing room comedy. In the role of the soldier Capt. Shotover, Ben Daniels is a paradigm of how not to be a star: his understated portuguese is as unobtrusive as it is exhausting and it diverts attention that should have been focused on Shaw's pessimistic prophesy, not Daniels's performance. Rosemary Harris, on the other hand, makes Shotover's bohemian daughter, Helene, glow with unaffected innocence, and her scenes of gabfiness are truly funny.

Such light entertainment is more common in musicals, but two of the season's successes draw traditional family themes with equally thoughtful perspectives. As a political statement, *La Cage aux Folles* has triumphantly popularized homosexuals' natural claims to dignity. But its operatic female comedies

a willow travesty. The point of Harvey Fierstein's libretto—that homosexuals play the role of parents as well as heterosexuals—can be strongly argued. But the fact is that the ultrahomosexuals housebreaks in *La Cage* before it hypocritically as conventional Victorians. An entertainment, moreover, the show is a pure delusion, relieved only by George Burns in the travestie mother.

The problematic issues of child rearing are raised in *La Cage* surface in *Baby*. During the evening, a drab verse-over reassures the facts of life while photos of sperm races to meet their egg play on the curtain. No ordinary musical, *Baby* involves two pregnancies and the resulting but futile attempts of a third couple to conceive. The production arrives an almost insuperable liability in John Lee Beatty's ugly, noisy sets, but

its scrubbed-clean virtuous skins through, hacked by David Shire's sweet, yet never saccharine, music.

Having accepted that bodies and sensuality are inseparable, Sylvie Fleeson's bawdy and perceptive sex-and-sandals lay out the three couples' fears and expectations. As a result, *Belly* provides an acceptably optimistic antidote to the more common misanthropic views about children which Christopher Durang's off-Broadway production, *Belly*, with the Bulkowski, typifies. Although Durang caricatures the moral infidelity of Lenny Bruce, the moral infidelity of Lenny Bruce

throws him a flower and then herself, twisting her thong around his. Don José's passion is equal to hers. At the end, after killing a rival and her husband in vain attempts to regain her love, he quietly leads Carmen back to the place where she had read her fortune in the cards and killed her too.

Breath's *Carmen* is not an opera but a landmark in the rare genre of music theatre. The singing roles rotate for every performance (there are five *Carmens* in all) and demand as much dramatic as musical expertise. Breath's staging is a miraculous blend of simple,

tightly titled *Sound and Fury*, Hwang explores male-female relationships with an Oriental cast in the context of traditional Japanese culture. Also at the Picnic are the three vagrantes that make up Yasujiro Ozu's *A Private Function*. Pavel is a prominent dissident in Czechoslovakia who was once inspired, and his plays are banned there. Gladys autobiographical, *A Private Function* presents Vassak, a dissident writer, who refuses to bend in moral confrontations with an employer and close friends who no longer argue against the regime. Under Lee Grant's staging is a miraculously blend of simple,



Peter Brook and Acelya Inan in *Heartbreak House* (left); Liz Callaway and Todd Graff in *Belly*: 'The best of times is now'

with the coarse clarity of Jess Rivers, Brook is only an extended cabaret sketch, guaranteed to give its audience posturality lemons.

At an exhilarating opposite extreme is Peter Brook's *Le Tragédie de Carmen*, an 85-minute distillation of Bizet's opera. Resisting against the tendency in opera to have drama play second fiddle to music and spectacle, Brook has reduced the orchestra to 14 instruments and eliminated elaborate costumes and sets. The empty stage, covered with sand and stones, employs minimal props for the familiar settings of town square, tavern, mountain hideout and, most important, bull ring. That is the dominant metaphor in Brook's vision, a wheel of fortune in which Carmen, like the bull, battles fate and ultimately yields to the bloody cycle of life and death. Just as the stage is stripped of convention, the characters, blind with passion, ignore conventional behavior when Carmen lures Don José, she

potent details. The crush of sand and rock underfoot, the scented smoke from fires around the blanket where Carmen and Don José make love, the blaring peak of the torero Escamillo's cape—all evoke visceral responses without being obviously symbolic or abstract. There is also unexpected humor: Escamilloudgingly undergoes his bumbling "torero" aria by casually slicing oranges into a jug of sangria as he sings. But most striking of all is the realization of the dark powers incarnate in Carmen although she loves several men, she is never unsatisfactory to her passion.

Brook has transferred Carmen from his theatre in Paris, where he is not searching for new stories but new languages with which to tell old tales. In New York similar experiments go on at Joseph Papp's Public Theatre, where the acclaimed young dramaturg David Hwang is playwright-in-residence. In the two one-act plays collectively

pointing direction, the cast convincingly captures the seething frenzy of bitter comedy and despair which pervades those trapped in a seemingly insatiable dilemma. When the saintly Vassak yearns close to salvation? when his boss berates him for adhering to principles at the expense of human beings? The impact of Ozu's work would be less powerful if it were relevant only to his immediate situation. But Vassak's dilemmas are not specific to tyrannies. Daily life everywhere requires ethical decisions with political implications in the largest sense. That crucial dimension is totally absent from mainstream New York theatre, where the only recognition that a life beyond domesticity exists is the complacent line from *Le Capitaine Fracasse*, "The best of times is now." Hwang believes otherwise, as did Shaw. But, if any playwrights as Broadway are in agreement, they have not yet broken out of the family closet to let the world know it. □



FILMS

A cold vision of a hot controversy

SILVERWOOD

Directed by Meryl Streep

Karen Silkwood's death in a 1974 car crash remains mysterious and controversial. A worker at the Kerr-McGee nuclear plant in Crescent City, Okla., she had been on her way, with what she had said was some incriminating evidence against the company, to meet a *New York Times* reporter. Apparently, she had in her possession the company's touched-up negatives of test photographs of plutonium fuel rods (meant to be used in a breeder reactor), which proved that the welding was unsafe. Leaked from the reactor, the rods could have resulted in millions of deaths by radiation contamination. The evidence was not found in the car wreck, although Kerr-McGee closed down the plant a year later after the Nuclear Regulatory Commission demanded safety improvements. Since then, a conspiracy theory that the company was responsible for her death has gained considerable momentum. But, despite the material at the keep-out-past, led by Meryl Streep, *Silverwood* is strangely knowing.

Silwood has a voice revealing no worth about her, and that is the point of the film. The script, by Nora Ephron and Alice Arlen, is a series of impressions about Silkwood, a puzzle-chewing, chain-smoking, devi-11-year-old woman. She smokes food from her coworkers in the plant cafeteria and lives with her boyfriend, Drew Stephens (Kurt Russell), in her best friend's ramshackle house. She is unassuming enough that the friend, Dolly (Cher), is a lechion, in a smoky pie shop that shows off one of her breasts to a leering male co-worker. Smart but not intellectual by any means, she was not the self-effacing martyr that many might consider her to be. Her resolve in exposing the dangers of the plant arose from a simple motivation: she was fighting for her life.

When workers at Kerr-McGee came into contact with a leak, their coworkers had to rush to the showers for decontamination, which involved a scrubbing-down that nearly tore away the skin. After her third breakdown (they are the most grueling scenes in *Silverwood*) she was aware

Meryl Streep amazingly expresses Silkwood's transformation from innocence and indifference. She seems to leave the character. More than ever before, she acts with her body; her walk is brisk and commanding, and the various ways she holds her cigarette tell where dialogue could Streep hold nothing back, but director Mike Nichols does, keeping her in long shot when the audience needs to feel physically closer to her. There are as many long shots in *Silverwood* (which will carry just practically long enough) as there are in the sombre documentary approach to the drama. In fact, in one of the few moving scenes the camera does get close to its subject—when Drew is about to leave Silkwood and walks back from her car to say to her, "I can't stay away from you." For a few seconds the camera allows the storm of emotion in Streep's face to overtake the viewer. Briefly, Silkwood seems alive.

There is much in *Silverwood* that is odd, especially the scenes between Dolly and Silkwood, for whom Dolly has always borne a painful, unrequited love. As well, the scenes with Russell and Streep as she talks about her parents, her past and her family, though they are also victims of the keep-your-distance school of film-making. Perhaps Nichols was afraid to sentimentalize the material, however, the way he handles his amors suggests that they are plutonium.

A cold experience, *Silverwood* is still a startling one to navigate who wants, by now, dread the possibilities in a nuclear age. In trying to be objective about the Silkwood case, the director and the screenwriter let the viewer draw their own conclusions. Yet there is a lack of commitment—and passion—in how they portray the basics. It is as though the death were a curiosity. If *Silverwood* had stuck to its dramatic urgency in the degree that it seems a form of action, it would. —LAURENCE O'TOOLE



Silwood (left); Cher: an unconvincing film with an exceptionally cast

initially shattered, in that time, Silkwood was acutely aware of the mortal danger it was facing. Her thought of "being married to cancer" through the slightest exposure to plutonium began to pervade her existence. Her concern led to a devoted involvement with the issue. That caused her several coworkers to ostracize her and, finally, Drew to sever their relationship. She became obsessive and terrified.

The painful curse of perfection

THE MAN WHO LOVED WOMEN
Directed by Blake Edwards

Most people would gladly trade their own problems for those besetting David Fowler in *The Man Who Loved Women*. He adores women, and they unfortunately return his affection. David (Burt Reynolds) is a highly successful sculptor who ends up on the couch of an analyst, Marianne (Julie Andrews), whining that he is impotent and cannot make even the smallest decision. As a character, the man is caring, kind and decent beyond belief—a candidate for canonization rather than psychoanalysis—and so much goodness soon becomes agony. To top the heart, it is extremely difficult to muster sympathy, or empathy, for a well-meaning, creative, handsomeness who has the many women running after him.

A remake of the 1938 François Truffaut film, *The Man Who Loved Women* closely follows the original and has an interesting premise: a female psychoanalyst probing a ladies'-man's neuroses. The movie opens with his funeral, attended by the bony beauties whom he has loved, and the analyst begins to narrate his woe-told tale. But it would have made infinitely more sense if David were not such a faintly figure; if he had a little meanness in him or if he and Marianne did not, in true Hollywood fashion, forsake her search for his bed. The movie could also have been less plodding had an actor other than Burt Reynolds undertaken the role of David Fowler. When he is not crashing cars or cracking jokes, Reynolds puts up a dour-faced, humorless and the audience. He smiles a bit but reveals little, and there is no depth to the character as he plays him.

The fantasies that David recalls in Marianne's office could be taken straight from the latter's page to *Playboy* or *Penthouse*; they are an excuse for the vignettes of his encounters with women. He picks up an amateur (Jennifer Edwards) as a prostitute; on Sunset Boulevard, then refers her to display his masculinity. He affairs with the wife of a Texas millionaire (Kim Bassinger) includes the funniest sequence of the year, involving Reynolds, a small dog and some Klugy Glitz. It is a showcase for his lassos and sense of fun. As for the psychoanalytic sessions themselves, they barely make any sense. Rather than psychologically help, what the shallow adherer seems to need is a week's vacation spent skiing or marinating.

—L. OT



Bafta and Brooks: a giddy, light romantic comedy with an unsettling subtext

Farce in the shadow of evil

TO BE OR NOT TO BE
Directed by Alan Johnson

Comments about Nazis make people nervous, and the tone of *To Be or Not to Be*, a remake of the 1942 Ernst Lubitsch film, keeps switching uncomfortably from the farcical to the serious. Although essentially a farce, the movie, which follows the original closely, is grounded in the tragedy of the Second World War as a Polish theater troupe tries to escape from behind German lines. Mati (Mati) and Anna (Brooks) as Fredrich and Anna Beausoleil are over the risks originated by Jack Benny (Jeffrey Lynn), a bumbling but with who becomes embroiled in the affairs of the Third Reich after their plane drops down.

As Frederick declines his *Highlights From Homeland* each night in a white wig, a handsome army officer, Andre (Mark Harmon), makes backstage to rendezvous with Anna. After the invasion of Poland, Sobekski sheds over a gig (Jeff Fahey) who has a list of the Polish underground for the Gestapo. The plot revolves around the retrieval of the list. Frederick impersonates various Nazi officials as the troupe plays great escape.

Like its predecessor, *To Be or Not to*

Be is a giddy, light, romantic comedy with an unsettling subtext—it is cold-blooded in a frightening way. The Lubitsch film poked fun at stock Nazi figures, too, but what was once relief for an audience in the thick of the war has changed drastically for a modern one

the memory of the Nazi machine has too much evil resonance for the satire to be merely trifidish. The fringes and bizarre mix-ups in *To Be or Not to Be*, while occasionally examples of overall comedy, are often unsettling, but their bitter content lends the movie a somewhat added air.

Smoothly directed by Alan Johnson, a choreographer, *To Be or Not to Be* is also a tribute to the people who work in the theater. As the Beausoleils, Brooks and Bafta make a superb Mati and Jeff comic team. He is short and broad-shouldered and seems through the actress from time to time, vacantly vulnerable, like a child. She is a woman who gives which cling to her easily. As superficially mismatched as the two characters are, they still function beautifully together; their marriage is like a car with a lot of mechanical problems, but one that manages to run each time they want it to. The members of the supporting cast, led by the delightful Charles Durning as an anxious Nazi, whose large teeth keep slipping out as he sits on the corner of his desk, all come from theatrical backgrounds. In fact, the best line in the movie is when Brooks reacts to reports that the Gestapo is rounding up gypsies as well as homosexuals and Jews. "Without Jews, gypsies and gays," he declares, "there is no theater." At its most convincing, *To Be or Not to Be* is a quirky valentine to the art of wimp—those who tell in the theatre—and the audience roots for their difference as well as their freedom.

—L. OT

A street-smart police thriller

LA BALANCE
Directed by Bob Swann

The French have always had an admiration for hard-boiled American fiction and a talent for translating it to the screen. The gloss of sensationalism they have managed to cast over the genre has resulted in some of the best films made anywhere. *Bob le Chasseur*, *Sainte, Sainte, Sainte*, *The Paris Pimp* and *The Moon in the Gates*. The street-smart police thriller *La Balance* is not strictly American hard-boiled fiction, but director Bob Swann, an expatriate American, obviously writes it well. In Paris' steamy Belleville district, the film deals with prostitutes and their pimps, drug dealers and a police department as kindly as the KGB. But despite its fast-paced atmosphere, *La Balance*'s curiously unconvincing scenes—the characters are seldom surprising.

Although the setting may seem exotic to North Americans, *La Balance*, beyond a few quirks and attitudes, is little more than *Scarface* and *Hitch* spoken in French. The balance of the title is along for "reference," and the movie begins with the shooting of one. Desperately in need of another informer to break a criminal gang, the police ask out Dida (slapstick-type Philippe Leclarde), once a gang member and now a pimp for Nadele (Nathalie Baye), who betrayed him by sleeping with the gang's leader. By leasing an both of them, and especially taking advantage of Nadele's amorous feelings for Dida, police Inspector Falcon (Richard Berry) eventually has his way.

La Balance displays a carefully calibrated ambivalence toward its characters. Falcon and the other police are at times unbearably brutal, yet more than caricatured goons, and the two lovers are never entirely sympathetic. The tone is, overall, edgy, the humor is practically flippant. And the obvious references to other works in the genre add a wiff of pretension. For all the carefully thought-out stagings, camera angles and editing strategies, the film does not have the crackling rhythms Swann intended.

Swann has a schoolboy sensibility, and it goes in the way he's telling a story during the climactic shoot-out, when he says down between breaths: "A matinée sans down below the lymphatics." The naked-as-a-gingerbread man does provide the circular with the opportunity for staging a chase afterward. *La Balance* is so transparent that the storyboards show through.

—L. OT



George Lucas's *Return of the Jedi*: the only megahit in a year of few surprises

Picking the best of 1983

I was a year of few surprises at the movies because Hollywood, playing it safe in an unstable marketplace, released its usual quota of sequels and remakes. No one needed a crystal ball to foresee that *Return of the Jedi* would become 1983's single megahit, grossing \$255 million—a figure third only to *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* and *Jaws*' predecessor, *Star Wars*, in film history. Perhaps the only unexpected blockbuster was the low-budget *Flashdance*, featuring a cast of unknowns. It earned \$100 million and a worldwide trend of musical fusions and a working-class theme. The movie, though, was released before the *Return*, and it was releasing a strong demand for the film. Otherwise, there was little to snarl either the industry or the average moviegoer: neither the staggering success of *E.T.* nor the colossal failure of *Moulin's Gate* in 1982.

But amid considerable cross-similarity of real-quality emerged—certainly enough to painlessly compile the 10 best films of the year. Those pictures are, in order of preference:

1. *Night of the Shooting Stars*: A woman remembers when she was six years old and the Germans burned the houses in her village. This sweetly, affectionately and profoundly disturbing film, directed by the Taviani brothers, has become as acclaimed as any ever made.

2. *Under Fire*: An exciting, brilliantly directed look (the Roger Spottiswoode at the recent *Blitzkrieg*) at the recent history of Nicaragua with Nick Nolte as a photojournalist caught in a civil conflict as well as gunfire.

3. *Local Hero*: Bill Plympton's magical comedy about a young man (Peter Riegert) who is sent to buy a small Scottish village for a big oil corporation and, instead, falls in love with the place. Endlessly charming.

4. *The Man in the Glass*: Jean-Jacques Beineix's surrealistic meditation on self, mother and romantic love—for ahead of its time.

5. *Fanny and Alexander*: Ingmar Bergman's beautiful evocation to the large screen, featuring a boisterous Dickensian family and two children who find themselves in a grim fairy tale.

6. *The Big Chill*: Friends of a decade who were closely held in the 1960s, spend a weekend together and discover how they—and the times—have changed. The entire cast is packed.

7. *Young Father's The Mansions of Life*: The year's most courageous satire has an uneven, but plenty of *Marceline* ruggages.

8. *Women First*: Teenage disaffection, magnificently photographed in black and white—a stylized take on love from Francis Cappello.

9. *Key Areas*: Stanley Kubrick's fearfully lifelike documentary on black gospel singers. A rip-roaring event.

10. *King Woody*: Alvin Ailey's parable of the past of celebrity, portrayed in the person of Leonard Teig, who has to identify of his own. Shot as a documentary, the film innovatively uses its own location with actual documentary footage from the past.

—L. OT

Writing for art's sake

PAINTED LADIES

By H.R. Percy
(Lester and Orpen Dennys,
282 pages, \$17.95)

Painted Ladies, by Nova Scotian short story writer H.R. Percy, is a first novel that tries hard to do too many things at once. It attempts to be broadly funny and deeply moving at the same time; it labors to present an array of verbal pyrotechnics; and it professes a large cast of complex, fascinating characters. Not surprisingly, it does not succeed in all departments; all those ambitions equally well. Still, the novel strikes just often enough to encourage serious optimism about the literary future of H.R. Percy.

The hero of *Painted Ladies* is Errol Logan, a temperamental painter who bears more than a passing resemblance to Galler Jenson, the protagonist of Joyce Cary's 1944 classic comic novel, *The Moor's Mouth*. Like Jenson, Logan is a spirited idealist who puts everything and everybody second to his



Percy: an overtly ambitious first novel

burning need to paint. Eventually, his single-minded genius propels him from a life of obscurity and poverty to a position as one of Canada's leading artists. But riches and critical acclaim come to mean little to Logan when the novel opens, in 1975, he is on his deathbed, the victim of a wasting but unspecified illness. Most of *Painted Ladies* is a remembrance as Logan and his long-time model and love, Eleanor, review their tragicomic destinies.

Not surprisingly, the elderly lovers consider their fifty years together to be their best. The humor of their loosely linked adventures sometimes witty, but unfortunately, Percy's melodramatic sensibility undermines its effectiveness. *Painted Ladies* takes all too seriously the romantic cliché of the turbulent, passionate artist's life. When Logan and Eleanor make love, Percy writes, "But if her touch inflamed him, the memory of his hands met her will, and then soared into after time into a wildness no man could ever know."

Such plunges into the purple zone do not trouble the reader, though Percy's uncertain handling of his secondary characters probably will. The author draws Logan and Eleanor with reasonable vividness, but many of the supporting cast, such as the couple's paternally devoted maid, Emily, and

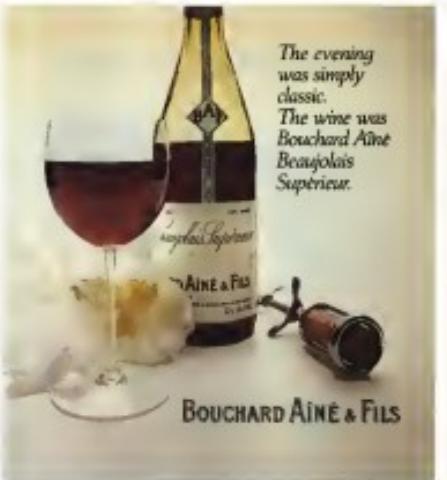
Maudie, the childlike widow of Logan's wartime friend, Jangson, fit like ghosts through the neoclassical architecture of Percy's elaborate prose style. The wiser characters seem less like real people than excuses for the narrator to indulge in more long-winded reverieisms and fragmented reminiscences.

While these shortcomings sabotage the narrative momentum of the first two-thirds of *Painted Ladies*, the reader may almost forgive them in the accomplishment of the closing chapters. There, Percy abandons his apparent attempt to recite The Big Story Mouth and instead Logan and Eleanor in a less stridently with a sensitive, bittersweet Dutch-art palette, the Earl of Darnford ("Thirty") falls in love with Eleanor when he sees one of Logan's portraits. Percy masterfully portrays Eleanor's gradual, half-exorcised consent to the isolation and Logan's nightmarish passivity as he watches his beloved slip away. What started as a barebones farce turns toward tragedy, and in the process *Painted Ladies* attains a much-needed clarity of focus and momentum. The novel ends in an explosive series of surrealistic images in the great painter's mind as he dies. But the book leaves the reader not so much with a sense of genius pointing to its reward as of a precocious talent struggling to be born.

—JOHN REMSON

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A stocking full of stuff

By Allan Fotheringham

Santa baby, hurry down the chimney with some delights for the deck. They have been entertaining all year and deserve their rewards.

For Ed Broadbent, a copy of Joe Miller's *Joke Book*, a lifetime pass to Milton Berle's show in Las Vegas, a tape of *Terry Douglas'* old speeches and a boxcar full of laughing gas. Life is grim, but does not always have to be this grim? For Ed Schreyer, a dingo, a billabong, a Holden, an introduction to Rod Hartnoll and a lot of dance floors for his sheiks. For Harold Baldwin, a cork. For Ken Dryden, more publishing contracts. For Ambassador Ken Taylor, a posting near an Italian nail factory. For Margaret Trudeau, a leak-proof Jacuzzi and another book contract. For Roger St. Pierre, an album, hand-crafted by Joey Smallwood's amanuensis.

For Senator Keith Denny, Nathan Detroit's oil well and permission, the week before the next federal election, to rename the Saskatoon airport after Jack Picharelli, the Hulka airport after Jimmy Gardiner, the Vancouver airport after C.D. Howe, the Lethbridge airport after Alastair Gillespie, the Inuvik airport after Jimmy Coates and the Regis airport after Senator Keith Denny. For Doctor Beck, a painter, a rubber ducky and a year's supply of Pampers. For Premier Bill Davis, free lessons in strengthening the fiscal muscles, so he can stop sniffing and begin to enjoy himself. For Eugene Whalen, a contender for the leadership of the Liberal party, a green felt cowboy suit to match his hat. For John Munro, a contender for the leadership of the Liberal party, a personally transplanted, the same one that has done such wonders for his beloved colleague, Mack MacGuigan.

Santa, okay, bring to Premier Bill Bennett some nice electric lessons, a new electric shaver and his own company, 18th Century-Fax. For Pierre Trudeau, amateur retirement slippers, equipped with wings for foreign travel, and a new case of Sammamish luggage to

carry through those Air Canada check-in counters. For Torsten, its very own domed stadium with a roof made from quibbles, which will be impervious to Pierrier snowage and springer downfalls. For Mayor Jean Drapeau, success in his hopes for his new project, an angstrom-billion-dollar, 300-km/h train between Montreal and New York, thus linking the Big Apple with the Big Ovo.

For Margaret Thatcher's hairdresser, a new supply of perfumed ready-wax cream. For John Roberts, a contender for the leadership of the Liberal party, the Mitchell guide for Medicine Hat. For

a membership in the Vancouver Lawn Tennis & Badminton Club and pingpong lessons. For Robert Bourassa, a hair dryer. Santa, bring Iana Campagnie, a contender for the leadership of the Liberal party, a copy of the *Cited Speeches of Judy Rankin*. For Ken Stark, a nice doll assassin to marry; the newspaper readers of the globe would be grateful. It would be nice, Santa, if you brought Brian Mulroney some Great cross-country skis, equipped with ski-trays. For Wayne Gretzky, a Stanley Cup Please, Santa.

The slight gift for Judy Rankin, a contender for the leadership of the Liberal party, would be a portable sauna that could be used to bathe selected members of the crew. For John Crosbie, an account, electronically controlled, verbena strainer, attached to the toilet, which would wash the effluvia of a Nahu newspaper filer out of excessive urticaria, hirsutism, gaffitis, seborrhea, sebaceous goiters and random moths. What would be left would be a speaking style that had the savor of a John Munro.

For Charles Breton, Santa, the left-handed starter he badly needs and a catcher who likes his angle. For Conrad Black, the man who has everything, the autographed memoir of Ramsey Clark. For Ray McMurtry, a decision from the prostrating Bill Davis, otherwise it's Ottawa. For Ray Romanay, Ed Broadbent's job, as is inevitable. For John Fryer, Dennis McDermott's job, which he lasts after. For Lily Schreyer, a dudgeon. For Don Macdonald, an escape parachute.

The proper gift for Dave Barrett, Santa, would be the keys to Bldens Hall. They would have to order a chef from Peking who specializes in egg rolls, rugby would be played on the lawns of Government House, and there would be an X-rated speech from the throne. For the residents of the land, their 1986 gift will be a Liberal leadership consortium, followed by an election, followed by an NDP leadership convention, interspersed with a visit from the Queen, a visit from the Pope, a U.S. election and a paragliding in a pear tree. Myself? Ha-ha, as usual.



Mills Mulroney, a thrifty way of reducing St. Simeon Drive with bags, was paper, tissues,肥皂 and plastic tablecloth. The pool can be used for Scratch day Adventist christenings and, in the winter, can be frozen over for hockey practices of the Edson Club Old Boys team. For Senator Ed Lawrence, some speaking dates at the North Atlantic Squadron's 90th reunion dinner. Santa, bring René Beaugrand his own personalized set of silver cap pistols and a set of cufflinks. For Chef Porkins, a cigar. Bring René Lévesque some new berets for his hairdresser looks before they droop into his eyebrows and catch fire, thus turning him into the Richard Pryor of politics.

For the organizers of the Calgary Winter Olympics, an introduction to Dr. Henry Morgentaler. For G.C. Chairman Jack Horner, a typewriter poised to unemployment insurance regulations. For John Turner, a contender for the leadership of the Liberal party, a seat in Vancouver-Quay, a home in Shaughnessy, a

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